THE LIFE AND DEATH OF S^r. THOMAS MOORE,

WHO WAS LORD CHANCELOR OF ENGLAND TO KING HENRY THE EIGHT.

[Cressacre More.]

By his great Grand Son

— More

XUM

The Preface to the Reader.

1. AS I cannot but daily thinke of the rare and admirable vertues both of nature and grace, which did shine most perspicuously in the blessed life and glorious death of that worthie Champion of Christs Church S^r. THOMAS MORE; so also haue I often had an earnest desire, especially for the spirituall behoofe of my selfe and my Children (who are as small brookes deriued by naturall propagation frō that spacious sea of rare perfections; or like tender twigs drawing sappe from the fruitfull roote of his noble excellencies) to giue them a taste, according to my poore abilitie, of some few of his most heroical vertues; professing my self vtterly vnable to sett downe his life in writing, as he deserueth. The end and scope of this worke:

Though beyond my ability and capacity.

2. For if that *Apelles* the principall paynter that euer liued, was thought only fitt to drawe with his pencell the pourtraicture of *Alexander the Great*; or if *Lysippus* the most curious engrauer was the onlie man, which was suffered to carue in brasse the beauteous feature of the same so worthie a personage; for feare least that some vnskillfull workeman might rather blemish his fauour, then anie waies grace it: what courage can I haue to vndertake a worke of so great difficultie as this, who know my selfe a verie puney in comparison of so manie famous men, that haue vndergone this businesse alreadie, finding in the verie beginning of this mine enterprise my small capacitie ouerwhelmed with the plentie and copiousnesse of this subiect? and yf I should boaste my witt and skill to be equall with learned *Stapleton's*, who at large and with great diligence and dexteritie hath sett forth the life of this great seruant of God in his booke intituled *The three Thomases*, I should, vanish away in mine owne pride, knowing my self right well most vnworthie to be compared vnto him; or if I should challenge vnto

ge vnto my ſelfe more certaintie of the matter related, then my great vncle *Mr. William Rooper* could haue, euerie one might iudge me both vaine and arrogant, of whoſe ſinceritie none that euer knewe him or heard of him, can doubte, I being the third in deſcent from S. THOMAS, and he his owne ſonne-in-law, with whome he had familiarly conuerſed y ſpace of ſixteene yeares togeather, as he himſelf confeſſeth; yet for all this I haue now at laſt ventured to diſcourſe a little of the life and death of this glorious Martyr (for ſo without enuie I hope I may call him) *non vt electus ex multis, ſed quaſi relictus ex omnibus*, not as one that may be thought fitt to ſett his life forth with good grace, but as he, who only vpon a naturall affection to his Anceſtour, truſting chiefly of Gods ayde, and this Saint's holie praiers, is emboldened to ſay ſomewhat thereof; this being one propertie of affection, to ſuppoſe, that whoſoeuer hath ſpoken, or whatſoeuer hath bene ſayd of him, whome we loue, all that we thinke nothing, if we ourſelues haue not ſayd

Yet vndertaken out of zeale and loue to the memory of S. Th. M.

ſomewhat in his praiſe; although (alas) we are often the vnfitteſt men for that purpoſe, we being not able to vtter what we conceaue, becauſe our paſſion taketh away much of our conceipt; and therefore we vtter for the moſt parte either broken words, or vnperfect ſentences, more intelligible to him, that ſearcheth the ſecretts of mens harts, then to others that heare them ſpoken, or reade them in our writings.

And for ſpeciall cauſe knowen to my ſelf alone.

3. But one may aske me, why I ſhould challenge more affection to this man, then anie other of my kinne, of whome few or none haue endeauoured to write any thing hitherto; I anſwer, that though I haue had more cauſe perhaps then anie man elſe to loue him, and honour him, which is beſt knowen to my ſelfe, and not fitt to be related vnto all men, *ſecretum meum mihi*; yet will I not aſcribe to my ſelfe ſo great a priuiledge of louing him beſt, I being the yongeſt and meaneſt of all my familie; lett this ſuffice him, that is a curious ſearcher of this my deede, that as Doctour *Stapleton*

ton was moued to take paines in setting forth the actions of S. THOMAS MORE, because he was borne in the verie same moneth and yeare, wherein he suffered his glorious martyrdome; so was I borne anew and regenerated by the holie Sacrament of Baptisme on the verie same day (though manie yeares after) on which S^t. THOMAS MORE entred heauen triumphant, to witt, on the sixt day of Iuly. And therefore haue I had some speciall confidence of his particular furtherance and blessing. For how, I pray you, could I euer haue hoped to haue liued as heyre of S^t. THOMAS his familie, and to enioye at this time some parte of his inheritance, all which by his attaynder he had lost vtterly from himself and his children, if his praiers had not, as it were begged it at Gods hands? besides I was the yongest of thirteene children of my father, the last & meanest of fiue sonnes, foure of which liued to mens estate; and yet it hath bene Gods holie pleasure, to bestowe this inheritance vpon me; which though perhaps I haue no cause to boaste of, because it may be a

As also for being borne on the day of his martyrdom.

And by his prayers hauing the honour to be the heyre of his family.

punishment vnto me for my faultes, if I vſe it not well, and a burden, which may weighe me downe full deepe; yet will the world coniecture it to be a great bleſſing of God, and ſo I ought to acknowledge it: And although I knowe myſelf the vnfitteſt and vnworthieſt of all the foure to manage this eſtate, yet they either loathed the world, before the world fawned on thē, liuing in voluntarie contempt thereof, and dyed happie ſoules, in that they choſe to be accounted abiect in the ſight of mē; or elſe they vtterly caſt of all care of earthlie trash, by profeſſing a ſtrayte and religious life, for feare leaſt the dangerous perills of worldlie wealth might gaule their ſoules, and the number of ſnares, which hang in euerie corner of this world, might entrappe thē to the endangering of their eternall ſaluation; and left me poore ſoule to ſinke or ſwime, or, as I can, wade out of theſe dangerous whirle pooles, amongſts which we wordlings are ingulphed; the multitude of which eminent perils doe force me to cry firſt and chiefly to CHRIST IESVS: ſaying with his Apoſtles: *Lord,*

ſaue

saue me, for I am in danger of drowning; and then also to craue the especiall assistance of S^r. THOMAS MORE his prayers, by whose intercession I hope to waste this my poore barke vnto her assured hauen of heauen, though shaken and crushed with winde and weather.

Not presuming only vpō his merits:

4. But none of vs must thinke, that his assistance is all, we must putt our owne helping hands thereto:

Nā genus & proauos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco. ——

his meritts are not our warrant, yea rather his exāples haue layde a greater loade on the backes of his posteritie, in that we are bound to imitate his actions more then anie other, or else more harme will fall vpon vs, because we haue not followed the foote stepps of our worthie Forefather, according as *Moyses* commaunded the *Israëlites* saying in his Canticle: *Interroga patrem tuum, & annunciabit tibi; maiores tuos, & dicent tibi*; which the Apostle also counselleth Christians in these wordes: *Quorum videntes conuersationem, imitamini fidem.* But

VVhich lay a greater burden of imitation vpon vs.

should

should I therefore wish I had not bene his Grandchilde, because I haue incurred a greater bond, and shall runne into greater infamie, by forsaking my duties? noe; God forbidde; yea rather this will I boldely affirme, not vpon vaine glorie, but vpon the confidence I haue of this singular man's blessing: if God would haue giuen me choice, before he created me of nothing, wether I would be the sonne of some famous Emperour, magnificent King, noble Duke, couragious Lord, or his, whose I was, I would most willingly haue chosen to be the same I am (to Gods eternall glorie be it spoken.)

But trusting vpō his prayers: and setting his life & death as a sampler before our eyes.

5. Wherefore relying vpon the assistance of this most excellent Saint, I will endeauour briefly to sett downe for mine owne instructiō, and my Childrens, the life & death of S^r. THOMAS MORE; who was as a bright starre of our Countrie in the tempestuous stormes of persecution, in which we sayle to our heauenlie Citie; on whome God heaped a number of most singular endowments; as, abundance of witt, profound wisdome, happie discretion, perfect

Iuſtice, exceeding Temperance, ſweete affabilitie, and all excellencies of nature and moralitie, beſides ſupernaturall and Theologicall guifts; as, Charitie in a high degree, both towards God and his neighbour, a Fayth moſt cõſtant, which would not be daunted with anie threates or diſgraces, that his Prince or Counſellours could thunder out againſt him, nay not with death it ſelfe; a magnanimitie not to be ouercome either by feare of anie loſſes, or hope of anie dignities; religion and ſuch deuotion as ſcarcely could be looked for in anie of a lay profeſſion; which perfections beganne to ſhine in his infancie, and continued in the progreſſe of his actions, and did not ende, but increaſed by his moſt glorious death which was an enterance into a moſt happie kingdome, wherein he both can and will haue compaſſion and helpe vs in theſe our miſeries; becauſe he was rayſed by God to be one of the firſt famous warriours in this our long perſecution. Wherefore he may worthily be ſett before our eyes, as a perfect patterne and liuelie example

to be imitated by vs: for he had more to loose, then most men in the land, being second to none but to the Chiefest, either in worldlie dignitie, or his Prince's fauour; and yet did he willingly forgoe all, yea life it selfe, rather then to wrong his Conscience, in consenting to anie thing against the law of God, and Iustice, as by this ensuing discourse will particularly appeare.

THE

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

SIR THOMAS MORES parentage, birth, education; studies and first employments of youth.

1. *Sir Tho. Mores parents, and their noble descent.*
2. *The place, day, and yeare of Sir Th. Mor. birth.*
3. *Sir T. M. his first studies.*
4. *Sir T. M. his first workes or writings.*
5. *His mortifications and penances.*
6. *His devotions, and prayers.*
7. *His diet and apparel.*
8. *His pleasant and discreet dissimulation of his virtues.*

1. SIR THOMAS MORE was the onlie sonne of *Sir Iohn More* knight, one of the Iustices of the kings

S. Thom. Mores parentage and nobility.

Bench a ſingular man for manie rare perfe-
ctions, which his ſonne ſetteth downe in
S. Iohn Moor Knight, father of Sir Thomas, and his virtues. his owne Epitaph extant amongſt his La-
tine Workes, tearming his father a man
Ciuile, that is to ſay, Courteous and af-
fable to all men; *ſweete and pleaſant in Con-
uerſation*, that is, full of merrie conceipts
and wittie ieaſtes; *innocent and harmeleſſe*, to
witt, neither deſirous of reuēge, nor maligning
anie for his owne priuate gaine; *meeke and
gentle*, that is to ſay, of an humble carriage in
his office and dignitie; *merciefull and pitti-full*,
that is, bountiefull to the poore, and full of cō-
paſſion towards all diſtreſſed perſons; *iuſt and
vncorrupted*, which are the apteſt titles and epi-
thites that can be giuen to a Iudge; as if he
would ſay, that he was neuer moued with friēd-
ſhipp, ſtirred vp with hope of gaine, nor wreſ-
ted by anie threates, but ſtill performed his du-
tie, and that he shutt vp alwaies his left eie to all
affection of friendshipp, and from all briberie.
Cambden alſo reporteth of him for proofe of
his pleaſantneſſe of witt, that he would compa-
re the

re the multitude of women, which are to be choſen for wiues, vnto a bagge full of ſnakes, hauing amongſt them but one eele; now if a man should putt his hand into this bagg, he may chance to light on the eele, but it is a hundred to one he shall be ſtung with a ſnake. Manie ſuch like wittie ſimilitudes would he vſe in his priuate diſcourſes, and in publike auditorie.

By theſe his perfections of witt and grace one might gueſſe that this Childe was likelie to proue ſingular, hauing ſo good a father; but he farre ſurpaſſed him in all theſe and manie more excellencies; ſo that our Familie hath bene much more dignified by this ſonne, then he anie way drew worth and dignitie from his Anncestours; the conſideration whereof hath cauſed manie to thinke and ſay that SIR THOMAS was of meane parentage, and the firſt of his houſe; yea ſome haue not ſtucke to write, by birth no gentleman; grounding their errour vpon theſe wordes, which he ſetteth downe in his Epitaphe: *Thomas More, borne of no noble*

Deſcended of ancient gentry.

familie, but of an honeſt ſtock; which is true as we here in England take Nobilitie and Noble; For none vnder a Baron (except he be of the Priuie Councell) doth challenge it; and in this ſence he meaneth it: but as the Latine word *Nobilis* is taken in other Countries for Gentrie, it was otherwiſe. For Iudge *More* bare Armes from his birth, hauing his Coate quartered, which doth argue that he came to his inheritannce by deſcent, and therefore although by reaſon of king Henries ſeaſure of all our Euidences we cannot certainely tell, who were *Sir Iohn's* Anncestours, yet muſt they needes be Gentlemen; and, as I haue heard, they either came out of the *Mores* of Ireland, or they of Ireland came out of vs. And as for SIR THOMAS, he was, as I haue ſayd, a Knight's eldeſt ſonne, and ſole heyre to a Iudge of this realme. But whatſoeuer the Familie was or is, if Vertue can ennoble anie, ſurely it hath by theſe two excellent men bene made much more to be reſpected. yet if we, as God forbidde we ſhould, degenerate from their footeſtepps, we may cauſe it ſoone to be baſe &

of ſmall

of small reckoning, vice being the chiefe staine, that tainteth euen the noblest Families.

The name of Sir Thomas his mother was *Handcombe of Holiewell* in the Countie of *Bedford*; yet Doctour *Stapleton* had not heard so much, who sayth: that her name was vnknowne; by reason of which wordes some haue taken greate exceptions, as though she had bene a base woman, though he doth in the same place tell this reason thereof, because she dyed soone after she had brought forth this childe, but to haue bene a woman of more then ordinarie vertue, that, which Doctor Clement reporteth from Sir Thomas his owne mouth of a vision which she had the next night after her marriage, seemeth, in my iudgement, forcible to argue; in which she sawe in her sleepe, as it were ingrauen in her wedding ring the number and fauour of all her children she was to haue, whereof the face of one was so darke and obscure that she could not well discerne it, and indeede afterwards she suffered of one of her children an vnnatural deliuerie, but the face of

Sir Tho. Moores mother, a very virtuous gentle vvoman.

Her visiõ concerning her children, and especially Sir Thomas.

one

one of her other, she beheld shining most gloriously, whereby no doubt Sir THOMAS his fame and sanctitie was foreshened and presignifyed. She brought forth before him to *Sir Iohn* two daughters, one called *Iane*, afterwards married to à noble gentleman *Mr. Richard Staffretõ*, & *Elizabeth*, wife to the worthie gẽtleman *Mr. Iohn Rastall*, Iudge *Rastall's* father.

Sir Iohn Moore his secõd wife, outliued Sir Thomas.

Sir Iohn after his first wife's death, married successiuely two others, whereof the last, as I haue heard, was called *Alice* one of the *Mores* of Surrey, and great aunte to *Sir William More*, whose sonne, now liuing, is *Sir George*, lieftennant of the Tower, a man little inferiour to his noble Anncestours, if his religion were answerable to theirs. This Ladie outliued her sonne in law Sir THOMAS, dwelling vpon her ioincture in Hartfordshire at a Capitall messuage then called *More-place*, now *Gubbons*, in the parish of *Northmimes*; but being a little before her death thrust out of all by king Henry's furie, she dyed at Northall a mile from thence, and lieth buried in the church there.

Sir

2. Sir THOMAS MORE was borne at *London* in Milke-streete, (where the Iudge his father for the most parte dwelt) in the yeare of our Lord 1480. in the twentieth yeare of *Edward* the Fourth. Shortly after his birth God would shew by another signe, how deare this babe was vnto him. For his nurce chancing to ride with him ouer à water, and her horse stepping aside into a deepe place, putt both her and her Childe in great danger and ieopardie; whose harmes she seeking suddenly to preuent, threw the infant ouer a hedge into a fielde neere adioyning; and after by God's helpe escaping safe also, when she came to take him vp againe, she found him to haue no hurt at all, but sweetely smiled vpon her; that it might well be sayd of him: *Angelis suis Deus mandauit de te, ne fortè offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum*; and not his foote only, but his whole bodie.

2. The place and time of S. Th. Mor. birthe.

An euidēt dāger strangely escaped in his child hood.

3. This was no doubt a happie presage of his future holinesse; and putt his parents in minde that he was that shining Childe, of

3. His first studies & imployments.

whome his mother had that former vision; wherefore his father had the greater care to bring him vp in learning, as soone as his tender age would permit it; and so he putt him to the Free-schoole of London called *S. Anthonies*, where he had a famous and learned man called *Nicolas Holt* for his maister, vnder whome when he had rather greedily deuoured then leasurely chewed his Grammar rules, he outstripped farre both in towardnesse of witt, and diligence of endeauours, all his schoole fellowes, with whome he was matched.

In S. Anthonies schoole in London.

In Cardinal Mortõs house.

And being borne to farre greater matters, his father procured him to be placed shortly after in the house of the most worthie prelate that then liued in England both for wisedome, learning and vertue, whose like, the world scarcely had, Cardinall *Morton* Archbishopp of Canterburie, and Lord high Chancellour of England, whose graue countenance and carriage was such that he easily allured all men to honour and loue him; a man (as Sir THOMAS MORE describeth him in his *Vtopia*) of incomparable iud-

The praise of the L. Cardinal.

ble iudgement, a memorie more then is credible, eloquent in ſpeach, and, which is moſt to be wished in Clergiemen, of ſingular wiſedome and vertue; ſo that the King and the Common wealth relyed chiefly vpon this mans counſell, as he, by whoſe policie King *Henrie* the Seauenth both gott the Crowne of England from *Richard* the third the vſurper, and alſo moſt happily procured the two houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* to be vnited by marriage.

In this famous mans houſe this youth learned moſt diligently aboundance of wiſedome and vertue; and now he beganne to shew to the world, what man he was likelie to proue. For the Cardinall often would make triall of his pregnant witt, eſpecially at Chriſtmas merriments, when hauing plaies for recreacion this youth would ſuddenly ſteppe vp amongſt the players, and neuer ſtudying before vpon the matter, make often a parte of his owne inuention, which was ſo wittie and ſo full of ieaſts, that he alone made more ſporte and laughter, then all the players beſides; for which his towardlie-

S. Thom. Moore his towardlynes in the Cardinals retinew.

ardlieneſſe the Cardinall delighted much in him, and would often ſay of him vnto diuerſe of the Nobilitie, who at ſundrie times dined with him, that that boy there waytingon him, whoſoeuer should liue to ſee it, would proue a maruelous rare man.

The Cardinal ſendeth him to Oxenford.

But when this moſt reuerend Prelate ſawe, that he could not profitt ſo much in his houſe, as he deſired, where there were manie diſtractions of publike affaires, hauing great care of his bringing vp, he ſent him to the Vniuerſitie, and placed him in *Canterbury-Colledge* at *Oxford*, now called *Chriſts-church*; where, in two yeares ſpace that he remained there, he profited exceedingly in *Rhetorick*, *Logick* and Philoſophie; and shewed euidently, what wonders, witt and diligence can performe, when they are ioyned, as ſeldome they are, in one painefull ſtudent. There his whole minde was ſett on his booke; for in his allowance his father kept him verie short, ſuffering him ſcarcelie to haue ſo much monie in his owne cuſtodie, as would pay for the mending of his apparrell; euen no more

Brought vp there neerly & auſterly by his father.

more then neceſſitie required; and of his expences he would exact of him a particular accounte, which courſe of his fathers he would often both ſpeake of, and praiſe it, when he came to riper yeares; affirming that by this meanes he was curbed from all vice, and withdrawen from manie idle expences either of gayming or keeping naughtie companie, ſo that he knew neither play nor other riott, wherein moſt yong men in theſe our lamentable daies plunge themſelues too timely, to the vtter ouerthrow as well of learning and future vertue, as their temporall eſtates. This ſtrictneſſe of his father increaſed in him alſo a great reuerence and obedience after vnto him againe; in ſo much that in all his life after he was ſo dutiefull vnto him, that he neuer offended nor contradicted him in anie the leaſt worde or action, ſtill ſhewing towards him admirable deedes of humilitie, euen at that time, when in the eye of the world, he farre ſurpaſſed his father in dignitie, which may be ſeene, by asking him bleſſing euerie day duly, euen after he was Lord Chan-

The great reuerence which he alwayes bare to his father.

cellour of England, and when he and his father mett publikely at Lincolnes-Inne, or other where, he would still offer him the place of precedence, though the Iudge by reason of his sonne's office did still refuse it; such was the pietie and submissiue minde of this humble man; such againe was the prouident care of the father towards his sonne, that one can hardly guesse, which of the two were more worthie, the father of such a sonne, or the sonne of such a father; yet I iudge the father more happie, that enioyed such an admirable sonne, and wish that my Children may imitate in this kinde their vertuous Anncestours.

His first vvorkes and vvritings.

4. When this towardlie youth was come to the age of eighteene yeares, he beganne to shew to the world his ripenesse of witt; for he wrote manie wittie and goodlie Epigrammes, which are to be seene in the beginning of his English Workes; he composed also manie prettie and elegant verses of the Vanitie of this life, and the inconstancie thereof, which his father caused to be sett vp with pictures and pageants, which

which are also in the beginning of his greate English Volume; he translated for his exercise one of *Lucian's* Orations out of Greeke into Latine, which he calleth his first fruits of the Greeke toung, and thereto he added another Oratiō of his owne, to answer that of *Lucian's*; for as he defended him who had slaine a tyrant, he opposeth against it another with such forcible arguments, that this seemeth not to giue place to *Lucian* either in inuention or eloquence. As concerning his diuerse Latine Epigrammes, which he either translated out of Greeke into Latine, or else composed of his owne: many famous authours, that then liued, doe make mention of them with great praise. For *Beatus Rhenanus* in his epistle to *Bilibaldus Pitcheimerus* writeth thus: THOMAS MORE *is maruelous in euerie respect; for he compoundeth most eloquently, and translateth most happily: how sweetly doe his verses flowe from him? how nothing in them seemeth constrained? how easie are all things there that he speaketh of? nothing is hard, nothing rugged, nothing obscure; he is pure,*

How much esteemed of by learned men.

he is

he is wittie, he is elegant; beside he doth temper all things with mirth, as that I neuer read a merrier man. I could thinke that the Muses haue heaped vpon him alone all their pleasant conceipts and wittie merriments; moreouer his quippes are not biting, but full of pleasantnesse and verie proper, yea rather anie thing then stinging; for he iesteth, but without mordacitie; he scoffeth, yet without contumelie. . . The like iudgement of his Epigrammes doth that famous Poëte *Leodgarius à Quercu*, publike Reader of Humanitie in Paris, giue, and that not so much by his words as by his deedes. For he hauing gathered of the Epigrammes of diuerse famous men a Collection, he hath sett out more Epigrammes of Sir THOMAS MORE's, then of anie other writer: yet becauſe rareneſſe of anie excellent qualitie is ſtill enuyed by ſome man or other, one *Brixius* a German, wrote a booke againſt theſe Epigrammes of Sir THOMAS MORE's, which he called *Antimorus*; with ſuch commendation, that *Emſmus* earneſtly beſought Sir THOMAS, that he would not

A quarrel ſtirred vp betweene him and Germanus Brixius.

ouer-

ouerwhelme his friend *Brixius* with ſuch an anſwer, as his rashneſſe deſerued; adding this of this his foolish booke *Antimorus: I heare what learned men ſpeake of Brixius nowv after he hath vvritten his Antimore, vvhich as I heare it not willingly of him, ſo vvould I leſſe willingly heare thē ſo ſpeake of you; vvherefore ſeing I perceaue howv hard a matter it is to temper an anſvver to ſo ſpitefull a booke, but that you muſt giue ſome ſcope vnto your paſsions, I deeme it beſt for you not to regard, but vvholy to contemne the matter; yet this I vvould not counſell you, my beſt friend, to doe, if there vvere anie thing in that malitious* Antimore, *vvhich did truly blemish your fame, ſo that it vvere neceſſarie for you to vvipe it away, &c.* Which friendlie counſell Sir THOMAS MORE in ſome ſorte followed; for although he had anſwered *Brixius* fully in a little treatiſe, which alreadie he had published, before *Eraſmus* his letter came to his hands; yet vpon the receipt thereof, he endeauoured by all the meanes he could to gett all the Coppies againe into his hands, and ſo to ſuppreſſe the booke; ſo

Eaſily giuen ouer by S. Th. Moor.

that it is now very hardly to be found; though ſome haue ſeene it of late. And Sir THOMAS ſent *Eraſmus* a letter to this effect, that although *Brixius* by his malitious booke had endeauoured ſo much to diſgrace him, that he wanted no will but skill and power to ouerthrowe his fame vtterly, yet this should preuayle more with him, that *Brixius* was friend to *Eraſmus*, then that he was his owne enemie. Which kinde of anſwer sheweth expreſſely, how eaſie he was to forgiue iniuries, eſpecially this being ſuch a one as touched him ſo neare in his reputation; following herein the counſell of Chriſt himſelfe in the goſpell of *S. Matthew*, who ſayth: *Loue your enemies, and doe good to them that hate you, that you may be the true imitatours of God, who cauſeth the ſonne to shine as well vpon the wicked, as vpon the iuſt.* But can we thinke ſo heroicall an acte in ſo yong yeares (for he was not now of the full age of twentie) could proceede from one, who had not bene practiſed before in the ſchoole of Chriſt, and in the earneſt ſearche of perfection? ſurely no, for this

this yong man had euen from his infancie laboured with allmight and mayne to enriche himselfe with vertues; knowing that learning without vertue is to sett pretious stones in rotten wood, and, as the wise man saith, a golde ring in a haggs snowte.

5. When he was about eighteene or twentie yeares olde, finding his bodie by reason of his yeares most rebellious, he sought diligently to tame his vnbrideled concupiscence by wonderfull workes of mortification. He vsed oftentimes to weare a sharp shirt of hayre next his skinne, which he neuer left of wholy; no, not when he was Lo: Chancellour of England: Which my grandmother on a time in the heate of sommer espying, laught at, not being much sensible of such kinde of spirituall exercises, being carried away in her youth with the brauerie of the world, and not knowing *quæ sunt spiritus*, wherein the true wisedome of a Christian man consisteth. He added also to this austeritie a discipline euerie fryday and high fasting dayes, thinking that such cheere was the

5. His Mortificatiõs

Hear-shirt.

beſt he could beſtowe vpon his rebellious bodie, rather then that the handmayde *ſenſualitie* should growe too inſolent ouer her miſtriſſe *Reaſon*, hauing learned the true interpretation of theſe wordes of Chriſt: *He that hateth his life in this world, keepeth it for life euerlaſting.* He vſed alſo much faſting and watching, lying often either vpon the bare ground or vpon ſome bench, or laying ſome logg vnder his head, allotting himſelfe but foure or fiue howers in a night at the moſt for his ſleepe, imagining with the holie Saints of Chriſts Church, that his bodie was to be vſed like an aſſe, with ſtrokes and hard fare, leaſt prouender might pricke it, and ſo bring his ſoule like a headſtrong iade into the bottomeleſſe pitt of hell. For chaſtitie, eſpecially in youth, is a lingring martyrdome, and theſe are the beſt meanes to preſerue her from the dangerous gulphe of euill cuſtome; but he is the beſt ſouldier in this fight, that can runne faſteſt away from himſelfe, this victorie being hardly gotten with ſtriuing. He had invred himſelfe to ſtrayteneſſe that he might the better enter in at

Watching & faſting.

Exerciſes amõg the Charthuſians.

the

the narrow gate of heauen, which is not gott with eaſe *ſed violenti rapiunt illud*, that is to ſay, they that are boyſterous againſt themſelues, beare it away by force. For this cauſe he liued foure yeares amongſt the Carthuſians, dwelling neare the Charterhouſe, frequenting daily their ſpirituall exerciſes, but without anie vowe. He had an earneſt minde alſo to be a Franciſcan Fryer, that he might ſerue God in a ſtate of perfection; but finding that at that time Religious men in England had ſomewhat degenerated from their ancient ſtrictneſſe, and feruour of ſpiritt, he altered his minde. He had alſo after that togeather with his faythfull Companion *Lillie* a purpoſe to be a prieſt; yet God had allotted him for an other eſtate, not to liue ſolitarie, but that he might be a patterne to married men, how they ſhould carefully bring vp their children, how dearely they ſhould loue their wiues, how they ſhould employe their endeauour wholy for the good of their countrie, yet excellently performe the vertues of religious men, as, pietie, Cha-

Not permitted by God to take an eccleſiaſticall courſe.

To be a paterne of maried men.

ritie, humilitie, obedience, and Coniugall chaſtitie.

6. His deuotiõs & prayers. At dayly maſſe.

6. He heard an intire Maſſe euerie day, before he vndertooke anie worldlie bueſineſſe; which cuſtome he kept ſo religiouſly that being on a time ſent for to the king, whilſt he was hearing Maſſe, he would not once ſtirre, though he were twice or thrice ſent for, vntill it was wholy finished, anſwering them that vrged him to come quickly, that he thought firſt to perfourme his dutie to a better man, then the king was; imitating therein the famous act of *S. Ludgar* firſt bishopp of *Munſter*, who being ſent for to *Charles* the *Great*, whilſt he was ſinging in the quier the Canonicall howers, he would not once ſtirre till all were ended; and being asked by the Emperour, why he neglected to come, when he ſent for him, he anſwered: I haue alwaies thought that your commaunde is by me ſo to be obeyed, as I doubted not but God is to be preferred; therefore I haue bene carefull to finish that I was about firſt, not for anie contempt of your Imperiall Maieſtie, but

but for your mote ſafetie and the dutie I owe to God. With which anſwere the Emperour no whitt diſpleaſed but delighted, anſwered him with thankes, ſaying, that he had now found him ſuch a one, as he had euer formerly thought him to be. Neither was King *Henrie* anie whitt angrie at that time with Sir THOMAS MORE, but rather highly pleaſed with this his ſmall neglect.

His dayly oriſons.

He vſed euerie day to ſay our Ladie's Mattins, the Seauen pſalmes and letanies, and manie times the Graduall pſalmes, with the pſalme *Beati immaculati in via*; and diuerſe other pious praiers, with he himſelfe compoſed; he ſelected alſo manie ſentences of the Pſalmes, imitating therein *S Hierome's* pſalter, which are extant in the latter ende of his English Workes.

Much pleaſed with the life of Picus Mirandula.

But finding his bodie for all his auſteritie readie ſtill to endanger his ſoule, although at all times he ſhunned idleneſſe more then anie other man, he determined to marrie; and therefore he propounded to himſelfe, as a patterne of life,

of life, a ſingular lay-man *Iohn Picus* Earle of *Mirandula*, who was a man famous for vertue, and moſt eminent for learning; his life he tranſlated, and ſett out, as alſo manie of his moſt worthie letters, and his twelue precepts of good life; which are extant in the beginning of his English Workes. For this ende he alſo wrote a treatiſe both learned, ſpirituall and deuout, of the Foure laſt things of man, though he left it vnperfect, being called by his father to other ſtudies.

His diligence in frequentinggood preachers.

He frequented ſermons diligently; eſpecially when thoſe men preached, who were moſt excellent for good life and ſpirituall direction, ſuch as Doctour *Collett* was, the moſt famous Deane of Paules, who, as *Eraſmus* writeth, was wont euerie day to preache at Paules, beſides manie other ſermons, which he made at the Courte and elſe where, expounding in them either the Pater noſter, the Apoſtles Creede, the Ten Commandements, the Seauen Sacraments, or ſome other matter of neceſſarie inſtruction, which he neuer left of, vntill he had perfe-

Doctour Colets excellent employments.

perfected the whole, that thereby euerie one might learne, what they should belieue, what to followe, and what to shunne, and shewed the meanes how euerie Christian might come to perfection in their sundrie states of life; and his life did not disagree from his doctrine; for he exercised himself much in all workes of Charitie and mortification of his flesh. This was he that founded the goodlie Free-schoole of Paules, dedicating it to the little boy IESVS, as he was found disputing with the Doctours at twelue yeares olde, of which famous acte Sir THOMAS MORE writing vnto him, compareth it by a fitt Antithesis to the Horse of *Troy*, out of which the *Grecians* issued to surprise that Cittie; in like manner, saith he, out of this your schoole, manie haue come that haue subuerted and ouerthrowen all ignorance and rudenesse.

But fearing least all these his deuout exercises might not be so meritorious, if he followed his owne will; for a yong man is in great danger of himself to want discretion, the mother of all vertues; therefore he chose this worthie Deane

Doctour Colet chose by S. Th. M. for his ghostly father.

for his ghostlie Father; for he was accounted one of the skillfullest phisitians for the soule, that could be found amongst ten thousand; him he commirted himself vnto, as to a safe guide of perfection in the dangerous passages of youth; that by his experience he might the more easily ouercome the deuill, the world, and his owne flesh, by following his whole some lessons, to worke the saluation of his soule, without anie preiudice of his bodie; to him he was as obedient in all spirituall affaires, as he was to his father in all dutiefull obligation; whereby he arriued to perfect obedience, one of the chiefest helpes that a spirituall man can haue to gett heauen. And because euerie one may see what affection he bore to this man his ghostlie phisitian, I will sett downe here an excellent letter of Sir THOMAS MORE's to Doctour *Collett*, and it is this:

S. Th. his letter to D. Colet hauing left London.

§. *As I was lately walking before West-minster-hall, busying myself about other mens causes, I mett by chance your seruant, at whose first encounter I was maruelously reioyced, both*

because

because he hath bene alwaies deare vnto me, as also especially for that I thought he was not come to London *without your selfe; but when I had learned of him, that you were not come, nor yet minded to come of a long while, it cannot be expressed, howw suddenly my great ioy was turned into as great sorrow and saddenesse. For what can be more grieuous vnto me, then to be depriued of your most sweete cõuersatiõ? whose wholesome counsell I was wont to enioye, with whose delightsome familiaritie I was recreated, by whose weightie sermons I haue bene often stirred vp to deuotion, by whose life and example I haue bene much amended in mine owne, finally in whose very face and countenance I was wont to rest contented. Wherefore as I haue found myselfe greatly strengthened, whilst I enioyed these helpes, so nowe doe I see myselfe much weakened and brought almost to nothing, being depriued of them so long. For hauing heretofore by followwing your footesteppes almost escaped out of hells mouth, so nowe like another* Euridice (*though in a contrarie manner, for she was left there because* Or-

He professeth whatspirituall comfort he receaued from D. Colet.

pheus looked back vpon her, but I am in the like daunger, because you doe not looke vpon me) fall back againe by a certaine violence and neceſsitie into that obſcure darkeneſſe I vvas in before. For vvhat I pray you is there here in this Cittie, vvhich doth moue anie man to liue vvell, and doth not rather by a thouſand deuiſes drawv him back, and vvith as maine allurements ſvvallovv him vp in all manner of vvickednesſe, vvho of himſelf vvere othervviſe vvell diſpoſed and doth endeauour accordingly to clime vp the painefull hill of Vertue? VVhitherſoeuer that anie man cometh vvat can he finde but fayned loue, and the honie poyſon of venemous flatterie; in one place he ſhall finde cruell hatred, in another heare nothing but quarrells and ſuits. VVhitherſoeuer vve caſt our eyes, vvhat can vve ſee but victualing houſes, fishmongers, butchers, cookes, puddingmakers, fishers, or fovvlers, vvho miniſter matter to our bellies, and ſett forvvard the ſeruice of the vvorld, and the prince thereof and deuill? yea the houſes themſelues I knovve not hovv do bereaue vs of a great parte of our ſight of heauen; ſo as the heighth of our

Populous cities fuller of dagers of ſinne, then the country life.

of our buildings, and not the circle of our horizon, doth limite our prospect. For which cause I may pardon you the more easily, that you doe delight rather to remaine in the countrie, where you are. For there you finde a companie of plaine soules, voyde of all crafte, wherewith cittizens most abounde; whithersoeuer you looke, the earth yeeldeth you a pleasant prospect, the temperature of the ayre refresheth you, and the cleare beholding of the heauens doth delight you; you finde nothing there but bounteous guifts of nature, and saintelie tokens of innocencie. Yet I would not haue you so carried away with those contentments, that you should be stayed from hastening hither. For yf the discommodities of the Cittie doe, as they may very well, displease you, yet may the countrie about your parish of Stepney (whereof you ought also not to haue the least care) afforde you the like delights to those, which that affordes you, wherein now you keepe; from whence you may vpon occasions come to London as into your Inne, where you may finde great matter of merit. The countrie people is most commonly harmeles-

The pleasure and innocēce of a cōntry life.

Cities stād more in need of skil full pastours, thē cōtry mansions.

meleſſe, or at the leaſt not loaden with great offences, and therefore anie phiſician may miniſter phiſick vnto them; but as for cittizens, both becauſe they are manie in number, as alſo in regarde of their inueterate cuſtome in ſinning, none can helpe them but he that is verie skillfull. There come into the pulpett at Paules diuerſe men, that promiſe to cure the diſeaſes of others; but when they haue all donne, and made a fayre and goodlie diſcourſe, their life on the other ſide doth ſo iarre with their ſaying, that they rather increaſe then aſſwage the griefes of their hearers. For they cannot perſwade men that they are fitt to cure others, when as themſelues (god wote) are moſt ſicke, and crazie; and therefore when they feele their ſores touched and handled by thoſe, whome they ſee are full of loathſome ſores themſelues, they cannot but haue a great auerſion from them. But if ſuch a one be accounted by learned men moſt fitt to cure, in whome the ſicke man hath greateſt hope, who doubteth then, but you alone are the fitteſt in all London to cure their maladies, whome euerie one is willing to ſuffer to touche their wo-

Preachers that liue not vvell, edyfy no thing.

undes,

vndes, and in whome what confidence euerie one hath, and how readie euerie one is to doe what you prescribe, both you haue heretofore sufficiently tryed, and nowe the desire that euerie bodie hath of your speedie returne, may manifest the same. Returne therefore my dere Colett, *either for* Stepney's *sake, which mourneth for your absence no lesse then children doe for the absence of their louing mother, or else for* London's *sake, in respect it is your native countrie, whereof you can haue no lesse regarde, then of your owne parents: and finally (although this be the least motiue) returne for my sake, who haue wholy dedicated myself to your directions, and do most earnestly long to see you. In the meane while I passe my time with* Grocine, Linacre *and* Lillie; *the first being as you knowe the directour of my life in your absence, the second, the maister of my studies, the third, my most deare Companion. Farewell, and see you loue me as you haue donne hitherto.*

He inuiteth D. Colet to returne to the citty, to help soules.

London, 21. Octob.

By this letter it may clearely be seene, how he gaue himselfe from his youth to the true rules of de-

The inestimable profit of a good ghostly father.

of deuotion, and thereby sought to profitt as well in holinesse as in learning; For if Christ hath pronounced them happie, that hunger and thirst after iustice, surely he shewed in this letter a great earnestnesse of desire to attaine to perfection. And his example may moue all his to follow therein his footesteppes, that their chiefe and principall endeauour in their youth be to seeke out a skillfull phisitian of the soule, who both can and will guide vs in the path of Catholike doctrine and dutie, and when we haue found such a one, to follow his counsell precisely, and make the secretts of our harts knowen to him. This dutifulnesse of the ghostlie childe to so rare a father, made *Colett* also admire this yong man's towardlienesse, so that this Doctour would professe to manie, and at sundrie times say, that there was but one witt in England, and that was yong THOMAS MORE; although manie flourishing youthes at that time liued in England, which were of hopefull expectation. And no doubt but God did further him with particular grace and towardlinesse, because

becauſe he was ſo extraordinarily deuout, ſo that I doe imagine it may be ſayd of Sir THOMAS MORE, which *S. Thomas of Aquine* witneſſeth of himſelfe, that he learned more by praier and ſpirituall exerciſes, then euer he could doe by anie ſtudie For to what ſtudie ſoeuer Sir THOMAS applyed himſelfe, he grew in ſhort time moſt famous therein. And firſt how great a Poet he was accounted euen in his youth, we haue already partly ſpoken of; then what Declamations he made full of all Rhetoricall eloquence to the amazement of all his auditorie, manie haue wittneſſed, who heard them, and haue read them; how pure a Latine ſtile he attayned vnto, his ſingular epiſtles yet extant to diuerſe perſonages doe euidently shewe, ſo that one would imagine he had ſpent all his life time in Humanitie only. And although his aptneſſe for eloquence ſeemed farre to diſagree from the ſerious ſtudies of the Common Law of this land, ſo that few could ſuppoſe ſuch a witt would haue had the patience to haue taken a lawbooke in hand; yet ſuch was

Sir Tho. Mo. learned more by prayer then by ſtudy.

his obedience to his father that at his cõmaund he ſtudied the Law diligently.

His ſober diet.

7. He vſed to eate at his meales but of one dish, which was moſt commonly powdered biefe, or ſome ſuch like ſalte meate; although his table was alwaies furniſhed with much varietie; and what meate he firſt taſted on, the ſame would he for that time make his whole refection of. In his youth he abſtained wholy from wine; and in his latter yeares he would taſte thereof, but firſt it muſt be well alayed with water; as *Eraſmus to Huttenus* wittneſſeth.

And plaine apparell.

He had noe care what apparrell he wore; in ſo much that being once tolde by his ſecretarie *Mr. Harris*, that his shoes were all torne, he bad him tell his man, that looked vnto him thereof, to buy him new, whome for this cauſe he called his Tutour; for he bought and made all his apparrell at his owne diſcretion, Sir THOMAS neuer buſying his head about ſuch matters; chooſing rather to be in all things at the diſcretion of other men, then at his owne guiding, that he might in all his actions exerciſe the chiefe

chiefe vertues of a Christian man, obedience and humilitie. Yea although he were most wise, and dexterous in discerning truth from falshood, and vertue from cloaked vice; yet would he for the most parte in his greatest affaires and studies aske his man *Harris* his aduise and counsell; and if he thought the contrarie better, he would willingly submitt himselfe to his opinion. And indeede *Harris* was a man of good vnderstanding and iudgement, and a very trustie seruant.

8. These were the foundations, on which he layde his future building; which by how much the more it was to be rayſed to splendour and beautie, by so much he layd his groundworke of humilitie the lower; and whatsoeuer hardnesse he vsed secretely, still kept he in outward semblance a singular alacritie, being merry in companie and full of ieastes; especially eschewing the vice of singularitie; yea he was verie cunning in dissembling his vertues, so that few came to knowe, what holie exercises he practised; euen as in his writings he often fayned

8. He dissembled his virtuous mortification by pleasant and vvitty conuersatiõ.

matters cunningly to haue heard them of others, which he himself had inuented, as in his preface to his *Utopia* he artificially discourseth as though *Raphaël Hithlodius* had tolde that whole storie vnto him; *commento periucundo*, as Paulus *Iouius* doth testifye. So he fayned as though an Englishman called *Rosse* had pleasantly confuted *Luthers* booke, as he discoursed with his hoste in *Italie*, who afterward published all their communication in printe, by which meanes *Luther* could neuer learne, who he was that answered him after his owne furious fashion, which angred him sore; lastly his three bookes of Comfort in tribulation, a worke most excellent and diuine, he inuented to haue bene spoken by two *Hungarian* kinsmen about the Turkes persecution; but thereby he most liuely represented the terrible stormes of crueltie, which king *Henrie* the eight, and heresie would raise in our poore distressed Countrie.

THE

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

SIR THOMAS MORES his mariage, firſt preferment, and ſerious vvritings: vvith his danger in time of K. Henry 7. and entry into fauour vvith King Henry 8.

1. *S. Thomas Mores firſt mariage and wife.*
2. *His ſecond mariage with a widowe.*
3. *His integrity in profeſſion of the lawe.*
4. *He offendeth K. Henry 7. by croſſing in parlament an iniuſt impoſition.*
5. *The beginning of his fauour vvith King Henry the eight.*
6. *His ſtudious employments amidſt his ſerious affaires.*

7. *The first honours bestowed by K. Henry 8. vpon S. Thomas.*
8. *He is by the K. made speaker of the lower house of parlament.*
9. *Cardinal Wolseys proposition in parlament frustrated by S. Thom. More.*
10. *Sir Tho. made chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

1. S. Thom. Moor his mariage and first wife.

I. SIR THOMAS MORE hauing determined by the aduise and direction of his ghostlie father to be a married man, there was at that time a pleasant conceipted gentleman of an ancient familie in *Essex* one *Mr. Iohn Colte of Newvhall*, from whome *Sr. Henry Colt* that now liueth, is lineally descended, that inuited him to his house, being much delighted in his companie, and proffered vnto him the choyce of anie of his daughters, who were yong gentlewomen of verie good carriadge and complexions, and very

very religiously inclined, whose honest and sweete conuersation, whose vertuous education enflamed Sir THOMAS not a little; and although his affection most serued him to the second, for that he thought her the fayrest and best fauoured; yet when he thought with himselfe, that this would be a griefe and some blemish in the eldest, to see her yonger sister preferred before her, he, of a kinde of compassion settled his fancie vpon the eldest, and soone after married her, with all her friends good liking.

Chosen out of a charitable compassion against his owne affection.

Now when he began to be clogged with wife and familie, children also began to growe fast vpō him; for his wife, whose name was *Iane Colt*, as long as she liued with him, which was but some six yeares, brought vnto him almost euerie yeare a childe, for whose maintenance he applyed himself busily to the practise of the law; and because he would haue his wife neare vnto his father, he placed her in Bucklers-bury. By her he had one sonne called *Iohn More* my owne grandfather, who was his youngest childe, and three daughters; his eldest daughter

His children by her.

Iohn More.

Mar-

Margaret Roper. *Margarett*, a woman of singular witt and wisedome, rare pietie, and extraordinarie learning, was wife vnto *William Rooper of Eltham* in the Countie of *Kent* Esquier, whose grandchilde now liuing is *Sir William Rooper*; his second daughter called *Elizabeth* was afterward matched with *Sir Iohn Dancy's* sonne and heyre; the third called *Cicilie* was married to *Mr. Giles Heron of shakelwell* in the Countie of *Middlesex* esquier: his sonne my grandfather married *Anne Cresacre* sole daughter and heyre of *Edward Cresacre* deceased of *Baronborough* in the Countie of *Yorke* esquier, whome Sir THOMAS bought of the King being his warde, vpon errour for another bodie's land lying in the same towne, as was afterware proued.

Elizabeth Dancy.

Cecily Heron.

Anne Cresacre wife to M. Iohn More.

2. His second mariage with a widow. 2. My great grandmother hauing brought forth these foure children, dyed soone after, and within two or three yeares he married a widdow called *Mris Alice Middleton*, by whome he had no children; this he did not of anie concupiscence; for he would often affirme, that Chastitie is more hardly kept in wedlock, then in a single

ſingle life, but becauſe she might haue care of his children, that were verie yong, from whome of neceſſitie he muſt be verie often abſent; she was of good yeares, of no good fauour nor complexion, nor very rich, by diſpoſition verie neare and worldlie. I haue heard it reported, he woed her for a friend of his, not once thinking to haue her himſelfe; but she wiſely anſwering him, that he might ſpeede, if he would ſpeake in his owne behalfe, telling his friend, what she had ſayd vnto him, with his good liking he married her, and did that which otherwiſe he would perhaps neuer haue thought to haue donne. And indeede her fauour, as I thinke, could not haue bewitched or ſcarce euer moued anie man to loue her; but yet she proued a kinde and carefull mother-in-law to his children, as he was alwaies a moſt louing father vnto them, and not only to his owne, but to her daughter alſo, who was married to *M.r Alington*, and mother to *Sir Giles Alington*. He brought vp togeather with his owne children as one of them *Margaret Gigs*, after wife to

Not very faire, but kind ſtepmother.

M. Alington, his ſtep-daughter

Margaret Clement.

Doctour *Clement*, a famous phisitian; and she proued also very famous for her manie excellent partes, as learning, vertue and wisedome. All these he bred most carefully to learning and godlie exercises, often exhorting them, to take vertue for their meate, and play for their sawce; getting them good meanes to maintaine them by his practise in the law, which he had first studied in an Inne of Chancerie called New-Inne, where he profited exceedingly, and from thence went to *Lincolnes-Inne*, of which house his father then was, where he allotted him small allowance for the reasons before alleaged, and, as it seemed, then his great patron the good Cardinal was dead.

Carefull gouernment of his family.

3. But he plyed that studie whereto he gaue himself, being apt to anie, that in short time he was made and accounted a worthie Outer-barister; yea still proceeding with most notable fame, he became a *double reader*, to which few but rare and singular lawyers doe euer attaine. Euerie one beganne to admire him both for a man of iudgement, vprightnesse and other excellent

His knowledge, and rare integritie in profession of the lawe.

cellent partes, a readie deliuerie, boldeneſſe in a iuſt cauſe, and diligence in his Clients caſe, and no great taker of money, vnleſſe he had throughly deſerued. For which cauſes euerie man ſtriued to haue him of their Counſell in all ſuits. The Cittie of London choſe him within a while, Iudge of the Shrief's Court, ſome ſay, Recorder of London, which I thinke not; yea there was not at that time anie matter of importance in anie of the King's Courts of this realme but he was of counſell to one of the parties, ſtill chooſing the iuſteſt ſide, and therefore for the moſt parte he went away victorious. By all which meanes he gott yearely, as he tolde his ſonne *Rooper*, without anie grudge of conſcience, to the value of foure hundred pounds, which was a large gaynes in thoſe daies, when lawyers ſpedde not ſo well as now they doe, neither were they then ſo plentiefull; but his fame exceeded all other. Wherefore he was choſen twice Agent for the *Stillyard*-marchents, which buſines he diſpatched with ſinguler dexteritie.

He is made Iudge of the Sherif of Londons court.

His plentyfull but honeſt gaines.

4. King *Henrie* the Seauenth then raigning, was

4. *K. Henry the 7. offended with S. Tho.*

was a prince of singuler vertues, as wisedome and religion, if that couetousnesse, the roote of all mischiefe, had not seized vpon him towards his latter daies, which caused him to lay vpon his subiects manie Impositions, and to raise sore exactions by two Caterpillers of the Common-wealth *Emson* and *Dudley*, who in the beginning of *Henrie* the Eighth's raigne were rewarded according to their deserts for their wicked counsell, to teache other men by their deathes how Iniustice and rapine is punished by God. This King, I say, had called to geather a Parlement, wherein he demaunded one Subsidie and three Fifteenes for the marriage of his eldest daughter the Ladie *Margaret's* Grace, who then should be, as she was in deede shortly after, bestowed vpon the King of *Scotts*. It chanced that Sir THOMAS was then one of the Burgesses; For manie had now taken notice of his great sufficiencie. When the consent of the Lower house was demaunded to these impositions, most of the rest either holding their peace, or not daring to gainesay them (though they

For crossing him in parlement in an vniust imposition.

they were vnwilling to grant them) Sir THOMAS making a graue speache, brought forth such vrgent arguments, why these exactions were not to be granted, that herevpon the King's demaunde was crossed, and his requeſt denyed; so that one *M.r Tiler* one of the King's priuie Chamber went presently from the house, and tolde his Maiestie, that a beardeleſſe boy had disappointed him of all his expectation; wherevpon the king conceaued great indignation against him, and could no way be satisfyed, vntill he had in some sorte reuenged it.

But for as much as he hauing yet but a litle, could not looſe much, the king deuiſed a Cauſeleſſe quarrell against *Sir Iohn More* his moſt innocent father, and clapt him vp in the Tower of London, keeping him there priſoner, vntill he had forced him against all Iuſtice to pay one hundred pounds as a fyne for a Cauſeleſſe offence. Manie also then counſelled Sir THOMAS MORE to aske the king mercie, that his father might be releaſed, amongſt whome was Doctour *Fox* then Bishopp *Winchester* one of the

Sir Iohn More the father imprisoned, to be reuenged vpon the sone.

Bad counsel giuen by a politik bishop.

king's priuie Councell, who pretended great loue towards *M.r More*, purposing indeede to gett the king thereby a better meanes to reuenge his displeasure against him. But when Sir THOMAS had asked the Bishop's Chaplaine Doctour *Whittford* a verie holie and graue man, afterward a Father of *Sion*, he that translated the *Followving of Christ* into English, what he were best to doe, he requested him for the passion of Christ not to follow his Lord's aduise, saying moreouer that the Bishop would not sticke to agree to the death of his owne father, if it were to serue the king's turne. For which cause he returned no more to my Lo: of *Winchester*, but determined to haue gone ouer sea, thinking he could not liue in England without great danger, standing now in the king's displeasure; and therefore he studied the French toung at home, sometimes recreating his tyred spiritts on the violl; where he also perfected himself in most of the Liberall Sciences, as Musike, Arithmetike, Geometrie and Astronomy, and grew to be a perfect historian, his chiefe

Auoided by counsel of the religious bishops chaplain.

He retires to his quieter studies.

helpe

helpe in all these labours being his happie memorie, of which he modestly speaketh thus; I would I had as good a witt, and as much learning *vt memoria non vsquequaque destituor*, as my memorie doth not altogeather fayle me.

But king *Henrie* dying shortly after, and his sonne king *Henrie* the Eighth striuing at the beginning of his raigne to winne the applause of his people, cast *Emson* and *Dudley* into prison, and attaynted them of high treason for giuing pernicious counsell to his father their prince; and when they were going to execution Sir THOMAS asked *Dudley* whether he had not donne better then they; to whome with a sorrowfull hart he answered: O M.r MORE, God was your good friend, that you did not aske the king forgiuenesse, as manie would haue had you donne; for if you had donne so, perhaps you should haue bene in the like case with vs now. So that to shunne present dangers by offending God or our Countrie, is not alwaies the safest way euen for our bodilie good, the

Empson and Dudley put to death for vvicked counsel.

The happines of a good conscience.

the contrarie turning oftentimes to our great fame, glorie and profitt.

The beginning of S. Th. Mores fauour with K. Henry 8.

5. 5. These great partes of nature and diligence, which euerie one noted in Sir THOMAS MORE coming to the yong king's eare, who was at that time greedie to entertaine all rare men into his seruice, he caused Cardinal *Wolsey* then Lo: Chancellour to moue him to come to the Court; and albeit the Cardinal laboured earnestly with him to effect it, alleadging how deare his seruice would be to his Maiestie, who could not with his honour allowe him lesse then he should loose by changing his former estate, but rather would enlarge his meanes, and recompence him fully; yet loath to change his estate, (which was certaine) made such meanes to the king by the Cardinall, as that his Maiestie was at that time satisfyed to forbeare him.

Warily at the first declined by S. Th.

He is employed by the K. on an embassage into France.

Yet did the king vse him in diuerse Embassages, first sending him in to *France* to challenge certaine debts, which the king of *England* demaunded to be due vnto him, that had bene there

there vniuſtly kept back, in which charge he ſatisfyed both the kings fully; ſuch was his wiſe demeanour and ſufficiencie. After this he was alſo ſent Embaſſadour into *Flanders* to confirme a league betwixt *England* and *Burgundie*, which he happily finiſhing, the king offered him at his returne a yearelie penſion, which Sir THOMAS refuſed, as he writeth to *Eraſmus* in theſe words:

To Flanders and Burgúdy.

VVhen I returned from my embaſſage of Flanders, *the king's Maieſtie would haue giuen me a yearlie penſion, vvhich ſurely, if one vvould reſpect honour and profitt, vvas not to be little eſteemed; yet haue I as yet refuſed it, and I thinke I ſhall refuſe it ſtill; becauſe either I ſhould be fayne to forſake my preſent meanes, vvhich I haue alreadie in the Cittie (and I eſteeme it more then a better) or elſe I muſt keepe it vvith ſome diſlike of the Cittizens, betweene vvhome and his Highneſſe if there ſhould happen anie controuerſie (as ſometimes it doth chance) about their priuiledges, they might ſuſpect me as not ſincere and truſtie vnto them, in re-*

spect I am obliged to the king with an annuall stipende.

6. His more serious writings.

6. About this time he compounded his famous booke of *Vtopia* in latine so much praised and extolled by all the learned men of that age, about the yeare of our Lord 1516. being six and thirtie yeares of age. This booke was of all Nations so much applauded, that very shortly after it was translated both into French, Italian, Dutch and English. The iudgement of diuerse learned men concerning which worke, I thinke good to sett downe here in English as Doctour *Stapleton* reciteth them in his *Three Thomases* in Latine. And first *Budæus* a singular writer in those daies sayth thus of it in an epistle to *Lupsetus*: *VVe are beholding to* Thomas More *for the discouery of* Vtopia, *wherein he hath diuulged to the world in this our age a patterne of a happie life, and a perfect rule of good behauiour. This age and our posteritie shall haue this historie as a Seminarie of most holesome doctrine and profitable instructions, from whence they may transporte and accommodate euerie one to their owne*

His Vtopia, greatly esteemed by all learned men.

By Budæus.

eivine Cities and Countries these excellent ordinances and decrees. Iohn Paludan to *Peter Giles* speaketh thus thereof: *you may see in* Vtopia *as in a looking-glasse, what soeuer belongeth to a perfect Communion VVealth.* England *truly hath manie excellent learned men. For what may we coniecture of the rest, if More alone hath perfourmed so much? being first but a yong man, and then full of busines both publike, and domesticall, and lastly professing anie thing rather then learning. Peter Giles* also to *Hierome Busleidian* speaketh thus, and giueth it this praise: *So manie wonders doe here meete togeather, that I am in a doubt which first to admire, whether his most happie memorie, which could almost word for word relate so manie different things againe, hauing but heard them once tolde, or his wisedome for marking and setting forth all the fountaines, from whence either the happinesse or mischiefes of anie Common wealth do arise; or the eleganeie and force of his stile, who hath with such pure Latine, and such vigour of speach comprized so manie and sundrie matters; especially*

By I. Paludanus.

By P. Ægidius.

one that is so much distracted both with publike and priuate affayres. By Busli-dius. *Busſidian* a great Counſellour of *Charles* the Fift Emperour in a letter to Sir THOMAS ſayth: *In the happie deſcription of your* Vtopian *Common-wealth, there is nothing miſſing, which might shew moſt excellent learning together with an abſolute knowledge of all humane things. For you excell in ſundrie ſciences, and haue ſuch great and certaine knowledge of things beſides, that you affirme euerie matter in writing, as though you had tryed euerie thing by experience before, and you write moſt eloquently whatſoeuer you affirme; a marueloꝰ and rare happineſſe; and the more rare, by how much the fewer can attaine thereunto.* And further in the ſayd letter he affirmeth that this *Vtopian* Common wealth farre exceedeth the *Lacedemonian*, the *Athenian*, yea euen that of the *Romans* itſelfe, in that it ſeeketh not ſo much to make manie lawes, as it laboureth to prouide good and vpright Magiſtrates; by whoſe prototypon, that is, the patterne of their honeſtie, the example of their manners and behauiour,

viour, and the pourtraicture of their Iustice, the whole state and true gouernement of euerie perfect Commō wealth may be framed. *Paulus Iouius* in his booke of the praises of learned men speaketh thus: *Mores fame will alwaies laste in his* Vtopia; *for he therein hath described a kingdome well gouerned with holesome lawes, and much flourishing, with riche peace, shewing howe he loathed the corrupt manners of this wicked age, and endeauouring by a pleasant fiction to leade the right pathe to a blessed and most happie life, &c.* Finally *Hutten, Viues, Gnapheus* and *Lacius* affirme that Sir THOMAS had an incomparable witt; greater then a man's witt, *pene diuinum*, yea almost diuine. By Paulus Iouius.

About this time he also wrote for his exercise the historie of king *Richard* the third, both in Latine and English, which is so well penned that if our Chronicles of England were halfe so well sett out, they would entice all English men to reade them ouer often. These his workes sett out at that time, when he was most employed in other mens affayres, shew how dili- His story of K. Richard the 3.

gent and industrious he was. For thus he writeth in his *Vtopia*: *VVhilst I daily either pleade other mens causes, or heare them sometimes as an arbiter, otherwhiles as a Iudge, whilst this man I visite for friendshipp, another for businesses, and whilst I busie my selfe abroad about other mens matters all the whole day; I leaue no time for my selfe, that is for studie. For when I come home; I must discourse with my wife, chatte with my children, speake with my seruants; and seing this must needes be donne, I number it amongst my affaires; and needefull they are, vnlesse one will be a stranger in his owne house; for we must endeauour to be affable and pleasing vnto those, whome either nature, chance, or choice hath made our companions; but with such measure it must be donne, that we doe not marre them with affabilitie, or make them of seruants our maisters, by too much gentle entreatie and fauour; whilst these things are doing, a day, a moneth, a yeare passeth. VVhen then can I finde anie time to write? for I haue not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping; which things*

He was wonderfully studious amidst his serious affaires.

The office of a discreet housholder.

things alone bereaue most men of halfe their life. As for me I gett only that spare time, which I steale from my meate and sleepe, which because it is but small, I proceed slowly; yet it being somewhat, I haue now at the length preuailed so much as I haue finished, and sent vnto you, Peter, *my* Vtopia.

Besides all this to shew the more his excellent partes of readie vtterance, pleasant conceipts and sharpenesse of witt, euen to the admiration of all men, he read a lecture in *S. Laurence* church at *Lothburie*, where *Sir Iohn More* his father lieth buried, out of *S. Augusten's* bookes *De Ciuitate Dei*, not so much discussing the points of Diuinitie, as the precepts of morall philosophie and historie, where with these bookes are replenished. And he did this with such an excellent grace that whereas before all the flower of English youthes went to heare the famous *Grocinus*, who was lately come out of *Italie* to teache Greeke in the publike vniuersitie, vnder whome as also that famous Grammarian *Linacre* Sir THOMAS himself had profited

His lectures publik vpō S. Austin, de ciuit. Dei.

profited greatly, of whome he had *Aristotle's* workes interpreted in Greeke, now all England almost left his lecture, and flocked to heare Sir THOMAS MORE.

7. By pleading for the Pope against the K. he makes him of his priuy Councel.

7. It fortuned shortly after that a shippe of the Popes arriued at *Southampton*, which the King claimed as a forfeyture; yet the pope's legate so wrought with the king that though it was seyſed on, yet he obtained to haue the matter pleaded by learned Councell. For the Pope's side as their principall man was choſen Sir THOMAS MORE; and a day of hearing being appointed before the Lo: Chancellour and other the chiefe Iudges in the *Starre-chamber* Sir THOMAS argued so learnedly and forcibly in defence of the pope's parte, that the afore sayd forfeyture was restored, and he amongst all the audience so highly commended for his admirable and wittie arguing, that for no intreatie would the king anie longer forbeare to vse him. Wherefore he brought him perforce to the Court and made him of his Priuie Counsell, as Sir THOMAS testifyeth himselfe in a letter to that

th[illegible] worthie prelate *John Fisher* Bishop of Rochester, saying: *I am come to the Court extreamely against my will, as euerie bodie knoweth, and as the king himself often twiteth me in sporte for it. And hereto do I hang so vnseemely as a man not vsing to ride doth sitt vnhansomely in his saddle. But our Prince, whose speciall and extraordinarie fauour towards me I knowe not how I euer shalbe able to deserue, is so affable and courteous to all men, that euerie one, who hath neuer so little hope of himselfe, may finde somewhat, whereby he may imagine, that he loueth him; euen as the Cittizens wiues of* London *doe, who imagine that our ladies' picture neare the tower doth smile vpon them, as they pray before it. But I am not so happie, that I can perceaue such fortunate signes of deseruing his loue, and of a more abiect spiritt, then that I can perswade myselfe that I haue it already; yet such is the vertue and learning of the king, and his daily increasing industrie in both, that by how much the more I see his Highnesse increase in these kinglie ornaments, by so much the lesse trou-*

K. Hērie 8. learning, and courtesy.

blesome this Courtier's life seemeth vnto me.

A gracious King for his first twentie yeares.

And indeede king *Henrie's* Court for the first twentie yeares was a seate of manie excellent witts, a pallace of rare vertues, according as *Erasmus* witnesseth thereof in an epistle to *Henrie Gilford* a gentleman of an ancient familie. For thus he writeth: *The fragant odour of the most honourable fame of the Court of England, which spreades it selfe ouer all the world, it hauing a king singularly endewed with all princelie excellencies, a Queene most like vnto him, and a number of sincere, learned, graue and wise personages belonging vnto it, hath stirred vp the prince of* Berghes *to put his sonne* Antony *to no other schoole but that.*

S. Thom. More knighted and made Threasurer of the exchequer.

Within a while after the king had created him one of his high Councellours of state, perceauing euerie day more and more his fidelitie, vprightnesse, dexteritie, & wisedome, dubbed him knight, and after M.r Weston's death he made him Threasurer of the exchequer, a place of great trust, of which increase of honour *Erasmus* writeth to *Cochleus*, saying: *When you write*

worldenesse to More. *You shall wish him ioy of his increase of dignitie and good fortune: For being before only of the king's priuie Councell, now of late by the beneuolence and free guift of his most gracious prince, he neither desiring nor seeking for it, is not only made knight, but Threasurer of the king's Exchequer; an office in England both honourable, and also commodious for the purse.* Yea king *Henrie* finding still more and more sufficiencie in Sir THOMAS vsed him with particular affection for the space of twentie yeares togeather; during a good parte whereof the king's custome was vpon holie daies, when he had donne his deuotions to sende for Sir THOMAS into his Trauerse, and there some times in matters of Astronomie, Geomitrie, and Diuinitie, and such other sciences, to sitt and conferre with him: otherwhiles also in the cleere nights he would haue him walke with him on the leads, there to discourse of the diuersitie of the courses, motions and operations of the starres, as well fixed as the planetts; And because he was of a verie pleasant disposition, it pleased

The familiarity of K. Henry vvith S. Thom. More.

Discreetly lessened by S. Th. himself.

his Maiestie and the Queene at supper time commonly to call for him to heare his pleasant ieastes. But when Sir THOMAS perceaued his wittie conceipts so much to delight him, that he could scarce once in a moneth gett leaue to goe home to his wife and children, whome he had now placed at *Chelsey*, three miles frō *London* by the water side; and that he could not be two daies absent from the Court, but he must be sent for againe, he much misliking this restraint of his libertie, beganne thereupon to dissemble his mirth, and so by little and little to disvse himselfe, that he from thēceforth at such seasons was no more so ordinarily sent for.

He is sēt by the K. to appease the prentises of London.

The great respect, which the Cittie of *London* bare vnto him caused the king as a speciall man to sende Sir THOMAS to appease the apprentises, which were risen vp in a mutine against the strangers that dwelt then amongst them, vpon a May day: and surely Sir THOMAS had quieted them wholy and soone, had not an extraordinarie chance hindred it in *S. Martins*, as *Stowe* witnesseth.

The

The king vſed alſo of a particular loue to come on a ſuddain to *Chelſey*, where Sir THOMAS now liued; and leaning vpon his shoulder to talke with him of ſecrett counſell in his gardin, yea and to dine with him vpon no inuiting.

8. In the fourteenth yeare of the raigne of king *Henry* the eight, there was a parlement held, and thereof (which was a ſtrange thing) Sir THOMAS MORE was choſen Speaker for the Lower houſe, being now one of the Prince Counſell; who being very loath to take this charge vpon him, made a worthie Oration to the King's Ma.tie (not now extant) whereby he earneſtly laboured to be diſcharged of the ſayd place of Speakerſhipp; wherevnto his Highneſſe would by no meanes giue conſent.

8. He is by the King choſen ſpeaker of the lovver houſe of Parlament.

At the beginning of Parlament he made another Oration, the points whereof are very wiſely ſett downe by my vncle *Rooper* in his Life of Sir THOMAS MORE; and they are theſe: *Since I perceaue, moſt redoubted Soueraigne, that it accordeth not to your high pleaſure to reforme this election, and cauſe it to be changed, but haue by*

A ſumma-ry of his firſt ſpeech in Parlament.

the mouth of the right Reuerend Father in God the Legate (who was then Cardinal Wolsey) your high Chancellour thereunto giuen your assent, and haue of your benignitie farre aboue that I may beare, to enable me and for this office to repute me fitt rather then that you would seeme to imputte to your Commons, that they had vnmeetely chosen me, I am therefore, and alwaies shall be readie obediently to conforme my self to the accomplishment of your high commaunde. And then he maketh two humble petitions; the one concerning himself, the other, the whole assemblie. The first, that if he should chance to mistake his message, or for lacke of good vtterance by misrehearsall peruert their prudent instructions, that his Matie would then pardon his simplicitie, and suffer him to repayre vnto them againe for their more substantiall aduise. His other request vnto the King's Maestie was, that it would please his inestimable goodnesse to pardon freely, without doubt of his dreadfull displeasure, whatsoeuer it shall happen anie man to say there, interpreting euerie man's wordes, how vncomely

maly soeuer they were couched, to proceede of a good zeale towards the profitt of the realme, and the honour of his royall person.

9. Cardinal *VVolsey* found himself much greiued at the Burgesses, that nothing could be either donne or spoken in both the houses, but it was immediately blowen abroad in euerie ale house. It fortuned after that a great Subsidie was to be demaunded, and the Cardinall fearing it would not passe the lower house, vnlesse he were there present himself before whose coming it was long debated, whether they should admitt him with a few of the Lords, as the most opinion of the house was, or that they should receaue him with his whole trayne. Maisters, quoth Sir THOMAS, for as much as my Lo: Cardinal lately, ye woote well, layde to our charge the lightnesse of our toungs, for things vttered out of this house, it should not in my minde be amisse to receaue him with all his pompe, with his Maces, his Pillers, his Polaxes, his Crosse, his hatt, and the Great Seale too, to the intent, that if he finde the like faulte with vs then, we

9. Cardinal Wolseys entry into parlament.

may

may lay the blame vpon those, whome his Grace bringeth with him. Vpon which words the House wholy agreed, and so he was receaued accordingly. There the Cardinal with a sollemne speache by manie reasons proued, how necessarie it was that the demaunde there moued should be granted, but he seing the companie silent, contrarie to his expectation, shewing no inclination thereto, demaunded of them some reasonable answer; but when euerie one still held their peace, he spake in particular to *M. Murrey*; who making no answer neither, he asked others also; but they all had determined to answer him by their Speaker: Who spake therefore reuerently on his knees, excusing the silence of the house abashed, as he sayd, at the sight of so noble a personage, who was able to amaze the wisest and best learned in the realme. Yet with manie probable arguments he proued this his manner of coming to be neither expedient, nor agreable to the ancient liberties of that house; & for himself in conclusion he shewed, that except all they could putt their sundrie

And a motiō to the lower house.

Frustrated by S. Tho. Mores. vvisdome.

witts

witts into his head, that he alone in ſo weightie a matter was vnmeete to make his Grace a ſufficient anſwer. VVherevpon the Cardinal diſpleaſed with Sir THOMAS that he had not in that parlement ſatisfyed his expectation, ſuddenly roſe in a rage and departed. And afterwards in his gallerie at *VVhitehall* he vttered vnto him his griefe, ſaying; I would to God you had bene at *Rome*, M.r MORE, when I made you Speaker. Your Grace not offended, ſo would I too, my Lord, replyed Sir THOMAS, for then ſhould I haue ſeene the place I long haue deſired to viſite. And when the Cardinal walked without anie more ſpeache, he beganne to talke to him of that fayre Gallerie of his, ſaying: This Gallerie of yours, my Lord, pleaſeth me much better then your other at *Hampton court*; with which digreſſion he broke of the Cardinal's diſpleaſant talke, that his Grace at that preſent wiſt not more what to ſay vnto him.

Who pleaſantly and wittily diuerteth the Cardinals diſpleaſure.

But for a reuenge of his diſpleaſure he counſelled the king to ſend him his Embaſſadour Legier into *Spayne*, commending to his Highneſſe,

And obtaineth againſt him not to be ſent Legier embaſſadour into Spaine.

neſſe, his learning, wiſedome and fittneſſe for that voyage, the difficultie of manie matters conſidered betweene the Emperour *Charles* the Fift and our realme, ſo as none was ſo well able to ſerue his Maieſtie therein; which the king broke to Sir THOMAS. But when Sir THOMAS had declared to the king, how vnmeete that iournie was for him, the nature of *Spayne* ſo much diſagreing with his conſtitution, that he was vnlike to doe his Soueraigne acceptable ſeruice there, being that it was probable, that he ſhould ſend him to his graue; yet for all that he ſhewed himſelf readie, according as dutie bound him, were it with the loſſe of his life to fullful his Maieſtie's pleaſure in that behalfe. The king moſt gratiouſly replyed thereto thus: It is not our meaning M.r MORE, to do you anie hurt, but to do you good, we could be glad: We will therefore employe your ſeruice otherwiſe. and ſo would not permitt him to goe that long iourney.

He is made Chancellour

10. 10. For the king's wiſedome perceaued that the Cardinall beganne to growe iealous of

Sir

Sir THOMAS MORE's greatneſſe, fearing that (which after happened) he would outſtrippe him in the king's gracious fauour, who ſtil heaped more honour vpon Sir THOMAS; and although he was neuer the man that asked the king anie requeſt for himſelfe; yet vpon the death of *Sir Richard VVinckfield*, who had bene Chancelour of the Dutchie of *Lancaſter*, that dignitie was beſtowed vpon Sir THOMAS MORE. Of which his honour *Eraſmus* writing to *Cochlie* biddes him to ſende Congratulatorie letters vnto him, ſaying, that he came vnto it *nec ambiens nec expetens, ultroneo fauore Principis humaniſſimi*, that is, neither ambitiouſly ſeeking it, nor once asking it, but by the meere fauour of his moſt gracious Prince. of the Durchy of Lancaſter.

King *Henry* tooke ſuch extraordinarie loue in Sir THOMAS his companie, that he would ſometimes on a ſuddain, as before I touched come ouer to his houſe at *Chelſey* and be merrie with him; whither on a time vnlooked for, he came and dined at his houſe. And after dinner walked with him the ſpace of an hower, holding S. Thom. Mores iudgemẽt of K. Henries extraordinary fauour.

his arme about his necke moſt louingly in the gardin. VVhen his Maieſtie was gone, my vncle *Rooper* reioyced thereat, and tolde his father, how happie he was, for that the king had shewed him ſuch extraordinarie ſignes of loue, as he had neuer ſeene him doe to anie other, except the Cardinal, whome he ſaw with the king once walke arme in arme. VVhereto Sir THOMAS anſwering ſayd: I thanke our Lord God, I finde his Grace my verie good Lord indeede; and I beliue he doth as ſingularly fauour me as anie other ſubiect, within this realme; how beit, ſonne *Rooper*, I may tell you, I haue no cauſe to be proude thereof; for if my head would winne him a Caſtle in *France* (for then there was warres betweene France and vs) it should not faile to go of. By which wordes he euidētly shewed, how little he ioyed either in the king's fauour, or in his worldlie honour, piercing with his ſinguler eie of iudgement into king *Henry's* nature; that what shew of friendship ſoeuer he made to anie, yet he loued none but to ſerue his owne turne; and no longer was anie in his fauour, but

but as long as they applyed themselues to his humours; yet could he not choose but loue Sir THOMAS for his singular partes, his profound iudgement, his pleasant witt, and intire sinceritie; for which causes the rare and admirable Queene *Catherine* king *Henrie's* first wife would often say, that the king her husband had but one sound Counseller in his kingdome, meaning Sir THOMAS MORE; for the rest she sayd that either they spoke as the king would haue them, or had not such matter of iudgement in them; and as for Cardinal *VVolsey*, who was then the greatest subiect in the realme, for his owne benefitt and ende, he cared not what counsell he gaue the king. He was of base parentage, and, as they say, a butchers sonne of *Ipswich*; yet had he crept vp into fauour partely by his learning, partely by his nimble witt, and louelie carriadge, whereby he could insinuate himself into great mens fauours; he had also a readie toung and a bolde countenance, and had gotten manie spirituall liuings together, bestowing them vpon vanities, as great and sumptuous

Queen Catherins iudgement of S. Th. Mores loyalty.

Cardinall VVolseys vainglory.

tuous buildings costlie bancketts, and greate magnificence; for he was vaine glorious aboue all measure, as may be seene by Sir THOMAS MORE's booke of Comfort in Tribulation; where he meaneth of him what is spoken vnder the name of a great Prelate of *Germanie*, who when he had made an oration before a great audience, would bluntely aske them that sate at his table with him, how they all liked it; but he that should bring forth a meane commendatiō of it, was sure to haue no thankes for his labour. And he there telleth further, how a great spirituall man, who should haue commended it last of all, was putt to such a *non plus*, that he had neuer a word to say, but crying *oh*, and fetching a deepe sigh he cast his eies into the welking and wept. On a time the Cardinal had drawen a draught of certeine Conditions of peace, betweene *England* and *France*, and he asked *Sir Thomas More's* counsell therein, beseeching him earnestly that he would tell him if there were anie thing therein to be misliked. And he spake this so hartily (saith Sir THOMAS, that he

Flattered by most men.

But nothing at all by S. Th. More

believed

beliued verily that he was willing to heare his aduiſe indeede. But when Sir THOMAS had dealt really therein, & shewed wherein that draught might haue bene amended, he ſuddenly roſe in a rage and ſayd: By the Maſſe, thou art the verieſt foole of all the Counſell. At which Sir THOMAS ſmiling ſayd: God be thanked that the king our Maiſter hath but one foole in all his Councel. But we shall haue occaſion to ſpeake more hereafter of this Cardinal.

THE

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

THE COVRTEOVS and meeke behaueour of Sir THOMAS MORES; his frinds at home and abroade.

1. *The gentle disposition of S. T. More in all occasions.*
2. *His prompt and ready witt.*
3. *His frindship with learned men at home.*
4. *With learned men of other nations.*
5. *His pleasaunt and merry conuersation.*

1. His courteous behaueour in midst of honour.

1. SIR THOMAS MORE for all his honour, and fauour with his Prince, was nothing puffed vp with pride, disdaine or arrogancie, but was of such a milde behauiour, and excellent temper, that he could

neuer

neuer be moued to anie paſſion or anger, as mine vncle *Rooper* witneſſeth, who affirmeth that in ſixteene yeares ſpace and more, that he dwelt in his houſe, and was conuerſant with him alwaies, he could neuer perceaue him ſo much as once in a fume. Yea *Margaret Gigs*, (who was brought vp from a childe amongſt Sir THOMAS his children and vſed by him no otherwiſe, then one of them, and afterwards married Doctour *Clement*) a ſingular learned woman would ſay, that ſometimes she would committ a fault for the nonce, to heare Sir THOMAS MORE chide her, he did it with ſuch grauitie, ſuch moderation, ſuch loue and compaſſion. His meekeneſſe and humilitie was alſo perceaued in this, that if it had fortuned anie ſchollar to come to him (as there did manie daily) either from *Oxford*, *Cambridge* or elſe where, ſome for deſire of his acquaintance (as he had intercourſe of letters with all the men of fame in all Chriſtendome) ſome againe for the report of his learning and ſingular wiſedome, ſome for ſuites of the Vniuerſities, if anie of them, I ſay,

His meekoes in reprehending.

had entred into argument, whrein few were able to diſpute long with him, he would vrge verie forcibly; and if it fortuned, that they entred togeather ſo farre to diſpute, that he perceaued they could not without ſome inconueniẽce holde out much further againſt his arguments, then, leaſt he ſhould diſcourage them, as he that ſought not his owne glorie, he would ſeeme to be confuted, that the ſtudent ſhould not be diſcomforted, euer ſhewing himſelfe more deſirous to learne then to teache, and ſo by ſome wittie deuiſe he would courteouſly breake out into ſome other matter.

His readines of witt in all occaſions.

2. Such was alſo his readineſſe of witt, that going euer in progreſſe with the king either to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, when they were receaued with verie eloquent orations, he was alwaies the man appointed by his Maieſtie *ex tempore* to make anſwer vnto them, as he that was prompteſt and moſt readie therein. Yea when the king went into *France* to meete the French king, Sir THOMAS MORE made a ſpeach of their congratulation; which he alſo did,

when

when *Charles* the Fift landed in *England* to ſee Queene *Catherine* his aunte. And whenſoeuer he had occaſion either in *England* or beyond the ſea, to viſite anie vniuerſitie, he would not only be preſent at their readings and diſputations, but would alſo learnedly diſpute there amongſt them himſelf, to the great admiration of all the Auditorie, for his skill in all ſciences. But when at *Brugges* in *Flanders* an arrogant fellow had ſett vp a *Theſis*, that he would anſwer whatſoeuer queſtion could be propounded vnto him in anie art whatſoeuer, Sir THOMAS made this queſtion to be putt vp, for him to anſwer thereto, whether *Aueria captæ in Withernamia ſunt irreplegebilia*; adding that there was one of the English Embaſſadours retinue, that would diſpute with him thereof. This *Thraſo* or Braggadocio not ſo much as vnderſtanding thoſe tearmes of our Common Law, knew not what to anſwer to it; and ſo he was made a laughing ſtocke to the whole Cittie for his preſumptuous bragging.

3. Now, as he was vngrateful to vaine proude men, His frind.

ship and eſtimatiō with the learned of all Chriſtendom.

men, ſo was he an intire and ſpeciall good friend to all the learned men in Chriſtendome; and firſt he affected eſpecially that famous man *Cuthbert Tunſtall* lately Biſhopp of London, and then of *Durham*; of whome Sir THOMAS ſpeaketh in his epitaphe made by himſelf whilſt he was in good health and ſtate, thus: Then whome the whole world hath not a man more learned, wiſe or better. He ſpeaketh alſo of him in his *Vtopia* thus: *The King ſent me Embaſſadour into* Flanders *as a Collegue to that excellent perſon* Cuthbert Tunſtall, *whome lately he hath choſen (to the congratulation of all men) his Maiſter of the Rowles, of whoſe ſingular praiſes I will not ſpeake, for that I feare I ſhould be ſuſpected, becauſe he is ſo deare a friend vnto me; but for that his vertues and learning are greater then I can expreſſe, and alſo more knowen, then that I ſhould neede to goe about to declare them; except I would ſeeme to ſett a torche to lighten the ſunne. In this embaſſage manie things delighted me much: firſt the long and neuer interrupted familiaritie, which I had with*

Cuthbert Tunſtall Biſhop of Durham.

Tun-

Tunſtall, *then whome as there is none more learned, ſo alſo no man more graue in his life and manners, no man more pleaſant in his manner of carriage and conuerſation.* He wrote vnto him diuerſe letters, which may teſtifye what intire friendshipp there was betweene theſe two excellēt men; as this: *Although euerie letter which I receaue frō you (moſt worthie friend) is verie gratefull vnto me, yet that which you wrote laſt, was moſt wellcome, for that beſides the other commendations, which the reſt of your letters deſerue in reſpect of their eloquence, and the friendshipp they profeſſe towards me, theſe laſt of yours yeelde a peculiar grace, for that they containe your peculiar teſtimonie (I would it were as true as it is fauourable) of my Common Wealth. I requeſted my friend* Eraſmus, *that he would explane to you the matter thereof in familiar talke; yet I charged him not to preſſe you to reade it, not becauſe I would not haue you to reade it (for that is my chiefe deſire) but remembring your diſcrete purpoſe, not to take in hand the reading of anie new worke, vntill you had fully ſatisfyed*

yourselfe with the bookes of ancient Authours, which if you measure by the profist you haue taken by them, surely you haue alreadie accomplished your taske; but if by affection, then you will neuer bring your sayd purpose to a perfect ende. Wherefore I was afrayed that seing the excellent workes of other men could not allure you to their reading, you would neuer be brought to condescende willingly to the reading of my trifles, and surely you would neuer haue donne it, but that your loue towards me droue you more thereto, then the worth of the thing itselfe. Therefore I yeelde you exceeding thankes for reading so diligently ouer my Vtopia; I meane, because you haue for my sake bestowed so much labour; And no lesse thankes truly do I giue you, for that my worke hath pleased you; for no lesse do I attribute this to your loue, because I see you rather haue testifyed, what your loue towards me did suggest, then the authoritie of a Censor: Howsoeuer the matter is, I cannot expresse howe much I ioye, that you haue cast your whole account in liking my doings. For I almost perswade myself all those things to be true,

true, which you speake thereof, knowing you to be most farre from all dissemblyng, and my self more meane, then that you should neede to flatter me, and more deare to you, then that I should expecte a mocke frō you. Wherefore, whether that you haue sene the truth vnfainedly, I reioyce hartily in your Iudgement, or whether your affectiō to me hath blinded your iudgement, I am for all that no lesse delighted in your loue; and truly vehement and extraordinarie great must that loue be, which could bereaue Tunstall of his iudgement. And in another letter he sayth: You deale very courteously with me, in that you giue me in your letter such hartie thankes, because I haue bene carefull to defende the causes of your frendes, amplifying the small good turne I haue done you therein, by your great bountie: but you deale somewhat, too fearefully in regarde of the loue, which is betweene vs; if you imagine that you are indebted vnto me for anie thing I haue done, and do not rather challenge it of right to be due vnto you, &c. The Amber, which you sent me, being a precious sepulcher of flyes, was for manie

respects

respects most vvellcome vnto me; for the matter thereof may be compared in coulour and brightnesse to anie precious stone, and the forme is more excellent, because it representeth the figure of a a hart, as it were the hieroglificke of our loue: vvhich I interprete your meaning is, that betweene vs it will neuer fly avvay, and yet be alvvaies without corruption; because I see the fly (vvhich hathvvings like Cupide the sonne of Venus, and is as fickle as he) so shutt vp here and inclosed in this glevvie matter of Amber, as it cannot flye avvay, and so embalmed and preserued therevvith, as it cannot perish. I am not so much as once troubled that I cannot sende you the like guift againe, for I knovve, you do not expect anie enterchange of tokens; and besides I am willing still to be in your debt, yet this troubleth me somevvhat, that my estate and condition is so meane, that I am neuer able to shevv myself vvorthie of all and singuler your friendshipp. VVherefore though I cannot giue testimonie myselfe herein before other men; yet must be satisfyed with mine owne inward testimonie of minde, and

de, and your gentle acceptance. He dedicated one of his bookes vnto him saying in this wise: *When I considered, to which of all my friends I should dedicate these my Collections out of manie Authors, I thought you most fitt for the same, in respect of the familiar conuersation, which of long time hath bene betweene vs, as also in respect of the sinceritie of your minde, because you would be alwaies readie to take thankefully, whatsoeuer in this worke should seeme gratefull vnto you; and whatsoeuer should be barren therein, you would make a courteous construction thereof; whatsoeuer might be vnpleasing, you would be willing to pardon. I would to God, I had as much witt and learning, as I am not altogeather destitute of memorie.* As for Bishopp *Tunstall* he was a learned man, and wrote a singuler booke of the reall presẽce. And although, during king *Henrie's* raigne, he went with the sway of the time (for who almost did otherwise?) to the great griefe of Sir THOMAS MORE; yet liuing to the time of Q. *Elizabeth*, whose God-father he was, when she beraied the fonte, in

Tunstall a glorious confessour in Q. Elizabeths dayes.

his olde age seing her take strange courses against the Church, he came from *Durham*, and stoutely admonished her not to change religiō; which if she presumed to doe, he threatned her to leese Gods blessing and his. She nothing pleased with his threates, made him be cast into prison, as most of the Bishops were, where he made a glorious ende of a Confessour, and satisfyed for his former crime of Schisme contracted in the time of king *Henrie's* raigne.

Friendship of S. Th. More with B. Fisher.

Sir THOMAS MORE's friendshipp with the glorious Bishop of *Rochester* was neither short nor small, but had long continued, and ended not with their famous martyrdomes. See how good Bishop *Fisher* writeth vnto him: *Sett, I pray you, our* Cambridge *men haue some hope in you to be fauoured by the king's Maiestie that our schollars may be stirred vp to learning by the countenance of so worthie a prince. We haue few friends in the Court, which can or will commende our causes to his royall Maiestie and amongst all we accounte you the chiefe, who haue alwaies fauoured us greatly, euen when you were*

were in a meaner place; and now also shewe what you can doe, being raised to the honour of knighthood, and in such great fauour with our prince, of which we greately reioyce, and also doe congratulate your happinesse. Giue further ance to this youth, who is both a good scholler in Diuinitie, and also a sufficient preacher to the people. For he hath hope in your fauour, that you can procure him greate further ance, and that my commendations will helpe him to your fauour. To this Sir THOMAS MORE answereth thus: This Priest, Reuerend Father, whome you write to be in possibilitie of a Bishopricke, if he might haue some worthie suiter to speake for him to the king, I imagine that I haue so preuayled, that his Maiestie will be no hindrance thereto, &c. If I haue anie fauour with the king, which truly is but litle, but what soeuer I haue, I will employ all I can to the seruice of your Fatherhood and your schollars, to whome I yeelde perpetuall thankes for their deare affections towards me, often testifyed by their louing letters, and my house shall be open to them as though it were their owne.

Farewell worthie and most courteous prelate, and see you loue me as you haue donne.

With Cardinal Poole, in his yonger dayes

His loue and friendshipp with yong *Poole* (afterwards a famous Cardinal) may be seene by their letters. he maketh mention of him with great praise in a letter he wrote to his wel-beloued daughter *Margaret Rooper* in this wise: *I cannot expresse in writing, nor scarcely can conceyue it by thought, how gratefull to me your most eloquent letters, deare daughter* Margarett, *are. Whilst I was reading them, there happened to be with me* Reinald Poole, *that most noble youth not so noble by birth as he is singularly learned, and excellently endewed with all kinde of vertue; to him your letter seemed as a miracle; yea before he vnderstoode how neare you were besett with the shorteneſſe of time, and the molestation of your weake infirmitie, hauing notwithstanding sent me so long a letter. I could scarce make him believe, but that you had some helpe from your Maister, vntill I tolde him seriously that you had not only neuer a maister in your house, but also neuer another man, that needed*

ded not your helpe rather in writing anie thing, then you needed his. And in another to Doctour *Clement* a most famous phisitian, and one that was brought vp in Sir THOMAS his owne house, he sayth thus: *I thanke you, my deare* Clement, *for that I finde you so carefull of my health and my childrens, so that you prescribe in your absence, what meates are to be auoided by vs. And you, my friend* Poole, *I render double thankes, both because you haue vouchsafed to sende vs in writing the counsell of so great a phisitian, and besides haue procured the same for vs from your mother, a most excellent and noble matrone, and worthie of so great a sonne; so as you do not seeme to be more liberall of your counsell, then in bestowing vpon vs the thing itselfe, which you counsell vs vnto. Wherefore I loue and praise you, both for your bountie and fidelitie.* And of Sir THOMAS MORE's friendship Cardinal *Poole* boasteth much after his martyrdome in his excellent booke *De vnitate Ecclesiæ* saying: yf you thinke that I haue giuen scope to my sorrowe, because they were my best beloued friends that were

putt to death (meaning Sir THOMAS MORE and Bishop *Fisher*) I do both acknowledge and professe it to be true most willingly, that they both were deare vnto me aboue all others. For how can I dissemble this, seing that I doe reioyce more of their loue towards me, then if I should boaste, that I had gotten the deerest familiaritie withall the princes of Christendome.

VVith D. Lea Archebishop of yorke.

His friendshipp also with Doctour *Lea* (afterwards the worthie Archbishopp of *Yorke*) was not small nor fayned, although he had written an excellent booke against *Erasmus* his Annotations vpon the new Testament, *Erasmus* being then Sir THOMAS his intire friend, and as it were the one halfe of his owne hart. For Sir THOMAS writeth thus vnto him: *Good Lea, that you request of me, not to suffer my loue to be diminished towards you, trust me, good Lea, it shall not, though of myselfe I incline rather to that parte that is oppugned. And as I could wish that this Cittie were freed from your siege, so will I alwaies loue you, and be glad that you do so much effeeme of my loue.* He speaketh also of *Lupsets*, a singu-

VVith Lupsetus

singular learned man of that time, in an epistle to *Erasmus*: Our friend *Lupset* readeth with great applause in both toungs at *Oxford*, having a great auditorie; for he succeedeth my *Iohn Clement* in that charge. What familiaritie there was betwixt him and Doctours *Collett*, *Grocine*, *Linacre*, and *Lillie*, all singuler men, we haue spoken of heretofore. *William Montioy*, a man of great learning, and *William Lattimer*, not *Hugh* the heretike, that was burnt, but another most famous for vertue and good letters, were his verie great acquaintance, as also *Iohn Croke*, that read *Greeke* first at *Lipsia* in *Germanie*, and was after King *Henrie's* Greeke maister, to whome he writeth thus: *Whatsoeuer he was, my Crocus, that hath signified vnto you that my loue is lessened, because you haue omitted to write vnto me this great while, either he is deceiued, or else he seeketh cunningly to deceiue you; and although I take great comfort in reading your letters, yet am I not so proude, that I should challenge so much interest in you, although you ought of duetie to salute me*

Grocinus. Linacre. Montjoy. G. Lattimer.

I. Crocus

euerie

euerie day in that manner, nor so wayward nor full of complaints to be offended with you, for neglecting a little this your custome of writing. For I were vniust, if I should exact from other men letters, where as I knowe my selfe to be a greate sluggard in that kinde. Wherefore be secure as concerning this: for neuer hath my loue waxed so colde towards you, that it neede still to be kindled and beated with the continuall blowing of missiue epistles: yet shall you do me a great pleasure if you write vnto me as often as you haue leasure, but I will neuer perswade you to spende that time in saluting your friends, which you haue allotted for your owne studie, or the profiting of your schollars. As touching the other parte of your excuse, I vtterly refuse it: for there is no cause why you should feare my nose as the trunke of an elephant, seing that your letters may without feare approche in the sight of anie man; neither am I so long snowted that I would haue anie man feare my censuring. As for the place which you requirre that I should procure you, both M.r Pace and I, who loue you dearely, haue put the king in minde thereof.

4. But

4. But now as concerning the familiaritie he had with the moſt famous men of other nations, it may be likewiſe ſeene by his letters to them; as to that famous *Iohn Cochlee*, who was *Luther's* ſcourge, he writeth thus: *It cannot be expreſſed, moſt worthie Sir, how much I holde myſelf indebted vnto you, for certifying me ſo often of thoſe occurrences, which happen in your Countrie. For* Germanie *now daily bringeth forth more monſters, yea prodigious things, then* Africk *was wont to doe. For what can be more monſtrous then the* Anabaptiſts; *yet how haue thoſe kinde of plagues, riſen forth and ſpread for manie yeares togeather? I for my parte ſeing theſe ſects daily to growe worſe and worſe, do expect ſhortly to heare, that there will ariſe ſome, who will not ſticke to preache, that* Chriſt *himſelfe is to be denyed; neither can there ariſe ſo abſurde a knaue, but he ſhall haue fauourers; the madneſſe of the people is ſo greate.* In which letter he foretelleth of *Dauid George* the *Hollander*, who called himſelf *Chriſt*, and had diuerſe followers at *Baſile*. So was there in *England* the like deſpe-

4. With learned mē of other nations: as, I. Cochlæus.

rate fellowe called *Hackett*, whoſe diſciples were *Arden* and *Coppinger*. At another time he writeth thus vnto the ſame man: *I would haue you perſwade your ſelf, deare* Cochlie *that I haue not receaued anie letter from anie of my friends theſe manie yeares, more gratefull then your laſt were to me; and that for two cauſes eſpecially; the firſt, for that I perceaue in them your ſingular loue vnto me, which though I haue ſufficiently found heretofore, yet do theſe shew it moſt plentifully, and I account it as a great happineſſe; for to lett paſſe your benefitts donne me, who would not highly eſteeme the friendshipp and fauour of ſuch a friend? Secondly becauſe in theſe letters you certifye me of the newes of manie actions of Princes, &c.*

Arthington.

Afterwards he had alſo intire familiaritie with *Budæus*, which was often renewed by letters, and once by perſonall meeting in *France*, when the kings of *England* and *France* had a parlie togeather. For *Budæus* was in great fauour with his king *Francis*, yea one of his priuie Councell, as Sir THOMAS was to king *Henrie*; all which

G. Budæus.

which may be perceaued by his letter to *Budeus* in this manner: *I knowe not, my good* Budie, *whether it were good for vs to posſeſſe anie thing that were deare vnto vs, except we might ſtill keepe it. For I haue imagined that I ſhould be a happie man, if I might but once ſee* Budeus, *whoſe beautiefull picture the reading of his workes had repreſented vnto me. And when God had granted me my wishe, it ſeemed to me that I was more happie then happineſſe it ſelfe; yet after that our buſineſſe were ſo vrgent, that I could not fullfill my earneſt deſire to enioy your ſweete conuerſation often, and that our familiaritie ſcarce begunne was broken of within a while, the neceſſarie affaires of our Princes calling vs from it, ſo as it is now hard to ſay, whether we ſhall euer againe ſee one another, each of vs being enforced to wayte vpon our owne Prince; by how much the more ioyfull our meeting was, by ſo much the more was my ſorrow in the parting; which you may leſſen somewhat, if that you would pleaſe to make me often preſent by your letters: yet dare I not craue*

them of you: but my deſire to haue them is greate.

M. Dorpius.

Another friend he had called *Martin Dorpe*, a famous reader in *Louaine*, and a ſingular good man, whome by letters fraught with ſound arguments he brought to the loue of the Greeke toung, being altogeather before auerted therefore: thus he ſpeaketh of him in a letter to *Eraſmus*: *I cannot lett* Martin Dorpius *paſſe vnſaluted, whome I reſpect highly for his excellent learning, and for manie other reſpects; but for this not a little becauſe he gaue you occaſion to write your Apologie to* Brixius *his* Moria.

Laſcarus. Philip Beroaldus.

He mentioneth alſo *Iohn Laſcarus* as a deare friend of his, as alſo *Philipp Beroalde* in a letter of his to *Budeus* in this manner: *Commende me hartily to* Laſcarus *that excellent and moſt learned man; for I imagine that you would of your ſelfe remember me to* Beroaldus, *though I ſhould not putt you in minde thereof; for you knowe him to be ſo deare vnto me as ſuch a one ought to be, then whome I haue ſcarcelie found a more learned man, or a more pleaſant friend.*

Hierome

Hierome Buſlidian, who built the Colledge called *Trilingue* in *Louaine*, we haue mentioned before, when we ſpake of his learned *Vtopia*, of whome thus he ſpeaketh in a certaine letter of his to *Eraſmus*: *Amongſt other things wich delighted me much in my Embaſſage, this is none of the leaſt, that I gott acquaintance with* Buſlidian, *who entertained me moſt courteouſly according to his great wealth and exceeding good nature, where he shewed me his houſe built moſt artificially, and enriched with coſtlie housholde ſtuffe, replenished with a number of monuments of antiquitie, wherein you knowe I take great delight, finally ſuch an exquiſite librarie, yea his hart and breaſt, more ſtored then anie librarie; ſo that it aſtonished me greatly.* Hierom Buſlidius

And preſently after in the ſame letter he ſpeaketh of *Peter Giles* as followeth: *But in all my trauailes, nothing happened more to my wish then the acquaintance and conuerſation with* Peter Giles *of* Anwerp, *a man ſo learned, ſo merrie, ſo modeſt and ſo friendlie that, lett me be baked if I would not purchaſe this one mans familiaritie* Peter Ægidius.

with the losse of a good parte of my estate. And in his *Vtopia* he speaketh thus of him: *Whilst I liue here in* Anwerp, *I am visited often, amongst the rest, by* Peter Giles, *then whome none is more gratefull vnto me: he is natiue of* Anwerp, *and a man of good reputation amongst his countriemen, and worthie of the best. For he is such a yong man that I knowe not whether he is more learned, or better qualifyed with good conditions. for he is a most vertuous man, and a great schollar, besides of courteous behauiour towards all men, of such a sincere carriage, loue and affection towards his friend, that you can scarce finde such another youth to sett by him, that may be compared vnto him; he is of rare modestie, all flatterie is farre from him; plainenesse with wisedome are seated in him together; moreouer so pleasant in talke and so merrie without anie offence, that he greately lesseneth by his pleasant discourse the desire I haue to see my Countrie, my house, my wife, my children, of whose companie I am of myself too anxious, and whome to enioy I am too desirous.*

B. Rhenanus. Of *Beatus Renanus* a verie learned man, he writeth

writeth in an epistle to *Erasmus*, thus: *I loue* Renanus *maruelously and am much in his debt for his good Preface; whome I would haue thanked a good while ago, but that I haue bene troubled with such a gowte of the hand, that is to say, idlenesse, that by no meanes I could ouercome it.*

Cranuilde also an excellent learned man and one of the Emperour *Charles* his priuie Councell was brought to Sir THOMAS MORE's friendshipp by *Erasmus*; for which both of them thanked *Erasmus* exceedingly as appeareth first by *Cranuild's* letter to him, which is thus: *I cannot but thanke you greatly with these my (though rude) letters (most learned in all sciences) for your singular benefitt lately bestowed vpon me which I shall alwaies beare in remembrance, and which I esteeme so much as that I would not leese it for* Cræsus's *wealth. You will aske me, what benefitt that was; truly this, that you haue brought me to the acquaintance and sweete conuersation of your friend* MORE *but now I will call him mine, whome after your departure I often frequented, because he often sent for me vnto him;* Cranuild

him; whose bountiefull entertainement at his table I esteeme not so much as his learning, his courteſie, and his liberalitie. Wherefore I accounte myself deepely indebted vnto you, and desire God that I may be able to demonstrate vnto you a gratefull signification of this good turne donne me. In his absence he sent my wife a ring of golde, the posie whereof in English was: All things are measured by good will. *He gaue me also certaine olde peeces of siluer and golde coyne; in one whereof was grauen* Tiberius's *picture, in another* Auguſtus; *which I am willing to tell you, because I am somewhat to thanke you for all.* Whome *Erasmus* answered thus: *This is that sure, which is vulgarly spoken: I haue by the meanes of one daughter gotten two sonnes in law: you thanke me because by my meanes you haue gotten so speciall a friend, as* More *is; and he on the other side thanketh me also, for that I haue procured his knowledge of* Cranuilde. *I knew well enough that because your witts and manners were alike, there would easily arise a deare friendshipp betwixt you; if so were that you*

did

did but knowe each other; but as the hauing of such friends is precious, so is the true keeping of them as rare. Heare how, Sir THOMAS writeth to Cranuilde: *I both perceaue and acknowledge howw much I am in your debt, my deare* Cranuilde, *because you neuer cease to doe that which is most gratefull vnto me, in that you certifye me still of your affayres and friends. For what can be either more acceptable to* THOMAS MORE *in his aduersitie, or more pleasing vnto him in his prosperitie, then to receaue letters from* Cranuilde, *except one could bring me to the speach of him, a most learned man of all others. But as often as I reade your writings, I am enamoured therewith, as yf I were conuersing with you in presence. Wherefore nothing troubleth me more, then that your letters are no longer; yet haue I found a meanes to remedie that, because I reade them ouer againe and againe, & I do it leasurely that my suddaine reading them may not bereaue me of my pleasure. But so much for this. That which you write concerning our friend* Viues, Viues. *who hath made a discourse of wicked women, I*

agree so well with your opinion, that I thinke one cannot liue without inconueniencies with the verie best woman. For if anie man be married, he shall not be without care; and in my conceipt Metellus Numidicus spoke truly of wiues; which I would speake the rather, if manie of them through our owne faultes were not made the worse. But Vlues hath gotten so good a wife, that he may not shunne only, as much as possible any man, all the troubles of marriage, but also thereby he may receaue great contentment; yet now mens mindes are so busied with publike garboiles, whilst the furie of warres doth so rage euerie where, that no man is at leasure to thinke of his priuate cares: where fore if anie houshold troubles haue heretofore oppressed anie, they are now all obscured by reason of common mischiefes. But this sufficeth for this matter, for that I returne to your self, whose courtesies and friendshipp towards me as often as I thinke of (which is verie often) it shaketh from me all sorrow. I thanke you for the booke you sent me, and I wish much ioy with your new [illegible], not for your owne

owne sake only, but for the Common wealthes, wose great benefitt it is, that such a parent should encrease it with plentie of children. For from you none but excellent children can be borne. Farewell, and commende me carefully and hartily to your wife, to whome I pmy God sende happie health and strength: My wife and children also wish you health, to whome by my reporte you are as well knowen and as deare as to myself. Againe farewell. London 10. Aug. 1524. Another letter he wrote vnto him in this sorte: I am ashamed, so God help me, my deare Cranuilde, of this your great courtesie towards me, that you do salute me with your letters so often, so louingly and so carefully, whenas I so seldome do salute you againe, especially seing you may pretende yea alleage as manie troubles of businesses as I can: but such is the sinceritie of your affection and such the constancie thereof, as although you are readie to excuse all things in your friends, yet you yourselfe are alwaies readie to perfourme euery thing, and to goe forward without omitting that which might be pardoned in you. But perswade

yourself, good Granuild, that if there happen anie thing at anie time, wherein I may really shew vnto you my loue, there, God willing, I will neuer be wanting. Commende me to my Mistrisse your wife, for I dare not nowe inuerte the order begunne, and to your whole familie, whome mine doth with all their harts salute. From my house in the Countrie this 10.th of Iune 1528.

C. Goclenius. *Conradus Goclenius* a Westphalian was commended by *Erasmus* vnto Sir THOMAS MORE thus: *I praise your disposition, my dearest* MORE, *exceedingly, for that your content is to be rich in faithfull and sincere friends, and that you esteeme the greatest felicitie of this life to be placed therein. Some take great care that they may not be cosened with counterfaite iewells; but you cõtemning all such trifles, seeme to your self to be rich enough, if you can but gett an vnfayned friend. For there is no man taketh delight either in Cardes, dice, Chesse, hunting or musike so much as you doe in discoursing with a learned and pleasant conceyted Companion. And although you are stored with this kinde of riches; yet because that I*

knowe, that a couetous man hath neuer enough, and that this manner of my dealing hath luckily happened both to you and me diuerse times heretofore, I deliuer to your custodie one friend more whome I would haue you accept with your whole hart. His name is Conradus Goclenius *a Westphalian, who hath with great applause and no lesse fruit lately taught* Rhetorick *in the College newly erected at* Louaine *called* Trilingue. *Now I hope that as soone as you shall haue true experience of him, I shall haue thankes of you both; for so I had of* Cranuilde, *who so wholy possesseth your loue, that I almost enuie him for it.*

But of all strangers *Erasmus* challenged vnto himself his loue most especially, which had long continued by mutuall letters expressing great affection, and increased so much that he tooke a iournie of purpose into *England* to see and enioy his personall acquaintance and more intire familiaritie; at which time it is reported how that he, who conducted him in his passage, procured that Sir THOMAS MORE and he should first meete togeather in *London* at the

Sir Tho. Mores friendship to D. Erasmus Roderodamus.

Lo: Mayor's table, neither of them knowing eachother. And in the dinner time, they chanced to fall into argument, *Emſmus* ſtill endeauouring to defende the worſer parte, but he was ſo sharpely ſett vpon, and oppoſed by Sir THOMAS MORE, that perceauing that he was now to argue with a readier witt, then euer he had before mett withall, he broke forth into theſe wordes not without ſome choler: *Aut tues Morus aut nullus*, whereto Sir THOMAS readily replyed: *Aut tues Emſmus, aut diabolus*: becauſe at that time he was ſtrangely diſguiſed, and had fought to defende impious propoſitions, for although he was a ſingular Humaniſt, and one that could vtter his minde in a moſt eloquent phraſe, yet had he alwaies a delight to ſcoffe at religious matters, and finde fault with all ſortes of Clergie men. He tooke a felicitie to ſett out ſundrie Commentaries vpon the Fathers workes, cenſuring them at his pleaſure, for which cauſe he is teamed *Erimus mus*; becauſe he wandreth here and there in other mens haruests; yea in his writings he is ſayd to haue hatched manie of

thoſe eggs of hereſie, which the apoſtata Fryer *Luther* had before laydt; not that he is to be accounted an heretike, for he would neuer be obſtinate in anie of his opinions, yet would he irreligiouſly glaunce at all antiquitie and finde manie faultes with the preſent ſtate of the Church. Whilſt he was in *England* Sir THOMAS MORE vſed him moſt courteouſly, doing manie offices of a deare friend for him, as well by his word as his purſe; whereby he bound *Eraſmus* ſo ſtraytely vnto him, that hee euer after ſpoke and wrote vpon all occaſions moſt highly in his praiſe, but Sir THOMAS in ſucceſſe of time grew leſſe affectionate vnto him, by reaſon he ſaw him ſtill fraught with much vanitie and vnconſtancie in reſpect of religion, as when *Tindall* obiected vnto Sir THOMAS, that his Darling *Eraſmus* had tranſlated the word *Church* into *Congregation*, and *Prieſt* into *Elder*, euen as himſelf had donne, Sir THOMAS anſwered thereto, *If my darling* Eraſmus *hath tranſlated thoſe places with the like wicked intent, that* Tindall *hath donne, he ſhall be no more my dar-*

Forſake, vvhen he perceiued Eraſmus hate in religiõ

XUM

my darling, but the Diuells darling. Finally long after hauing found in *Emſmus's* workes manie thinges neceſſarily to be amẽded, he counſelled him as his friend in ſome latter booke to imitate the example of *S. Auguſtin* who did ſett out a booke of Retractations, to correct in his writing, what he had vnaduiſedly written in the heate of youth; but he that was farre different from *S. Auguſtin* in humilitie, would neuer follow his counſell; and therefore he is cenſured by the Church for a Buſie fellow: manie of his bookes are condemned, and his opinions accounted erroneous, though he alwaies liued a Catholike Prieſt; and hath written moſt sharpely againſt all thoſe new Goſpellers, who then beganne to appeare in the world; and in a letter to *Iohn Fabius* Bishopp of *Vienna* he ſayth that he hateth theſe ſeditious opinions, with the which at this day the world is miſerably shaken; neither doth he diſſemble, ſaith he, being ſo addicted to pietie, that if he incline to anie patte of the ballance, he will bende rather to ſuperſtition then to impietie; by which ſpeach he ſee-

Eraſmus liued alvvayes a Catholique Prieſt.

he seemeth in doubtfull words to taxe the Church with superstition, and the new Apostolicall bretheren with impietie.

Now to conclude this matter of Sir THOMAS MORE's friends, lett vs heare what *Emsmus* speaketh of him in an epistle to *Vlderick Hutten*: MORE *seemeth to be made and borne for friendshipp, whereof he is a most sincere followver, and a fast keeper; neither doth he feare to be taxed for that he hath manie friends; which thing* Hesiodus *prayseth nothing: euerie man may attaine to his friendshipp; he is nothing slovve in chooſing, most apt in nourishing, and most constant in keeping them: yf by chance he falles into ones amitie, whose vices he cannot amende, he slackeneth the raines of friendshipp, disioynting it by little and little rather then dissoluing it suddenly: whome he findeth sincere and constant agreing with his owne good disposition, he is so delighted with their companie and familiaritie, that he seemeth to place his chiefe worldlie pleasure in such mens conuersation; and although he be verie negligent in his owne tempo-*

S.T.More's constancy in friendship

 rall

rall affaires, yet none is more diligent then he in furthering his friends causes. What neede I speake manie words? If anie were desirous to haue a perfect patterne of friendshipp, none can make it better then More. *In his companie there is such rare affabilitie, and such sweete behauiour, that no man is of so harsh a nature, but that his talke is able to make him merrie, no matter so vnpleasing, but he with his witt can shake from it all tediousnesse*; declaring plainely in these words the most pleasant disposition of Sir Thomas More; whose onlie merrie iestes and wittie sayings were able to fill a whole volume, if they were all gathered togeather; some of which Doctour *Stapleton* hath sett downe in two seuerall Chapters, whereof I shall also mention some hereafter; but the greatest number haue neuer bene sett downe in writing, as daily faling from him in his familiar discourse. All which shew plainely that he had a quiete conscience full of alacritie and a wittie conceipt, able to please all men that reforted vnto him, and who would not be glad of his companie, who

5. His pleasaunt cõuersation proceeding frõ a quiet conscience.

who was by nature moſt affable, in his Princes fauour verie high, and ſtored with worldlie bleſſings, as ample poſſeſſions, wealth enough and pompe of the world, euen at will.

A witty and merry reprehẽſion.

He vſed when he was in the Cittie of *London* a Iuſtice of peace, to goe to the Ceſſions at Newgate, as other Iuſtices did, amongſt whome it happened that one of the ancient Iuſtices of peace was wont to chide the poore men, that had their purſes cutt, for not keeping them more warily, ſaying that their negligence was cauſe, that there were ſo manie Cutt purſes brought thither. Which when Sir THOMAS had heard him often ſpeake at one time eſpecially, the night after he ſent for one of the chiefe Cutt purſes that was in the priſon, and promiſed him that he would ſtand his good friend, if he would cutt that Iuſtice's purſe, whilſt he ſate the next day on the Benche, and preſently make a ſigne thereof vnto him; the fellow gladly promiſeth him to doe it. The next day therefore when they ſate againe, that thiefe was called amongſt the firſt; who being

accuſed of his fact, ſayd that he would excuſe himſelfe ſufficiently, if he were but permitted in priuate to ſpeake to ſome one of the Benche; he was bidde therefore to chooſe one whome he would; and he preſently choſe that graue olde man, who then had his pouche at his gyrdle; and whilſt he roundeth him in the eare, he cunningly cutts his purſe; and taking his leaue ſollemnely, goeth downe to his place; Sir THOMAS knowing by a ſigne that it was diſpatched, taketh preſently an occaſion to moue all the Bench to diſtribute ſome almes vpon a poore needie fellowe, that was there, beginning himſelfe to do it. When the olde man came to open his purſe, he ſees it cutt away, and wondering, ſayd, that he had it, when he came to ſitt there that morning, Sir THOMAS replyed in a pleaſant manner: what? will you charge anie of vs with fellonie? He beginning to be angrie and ashamed of the matter, Sir THOMAS calles the cutt purſe and willes him to giue him his purſe againe, counſelling the good man hereafter not to be ſo bitter a cenſurer of innocent mens

negli-

negligence, when as himself could not keepe his purse safe in that open assemblie. For these his wittie iestes he may well be sayd to haue bene neither hatefull to the Nobilitie, nor vnpleasing to the people. If we reade his letters, they shew greate eloquence a pure latine phrase and a religious minde, for alwaies they expresse either humilitie in himselfe, zeale of Gods honour, loue to his neighbour, compassion of the afflicted, or a deare affection to his wife and children; so that it may be sayd that he had *pectus verè candidum* a verie sincere hart; and surely they breathe out matter either of wonderfull deuotion, or admirable wisedome.

His candour and innocence.

THE FOVRTHE CHAPTER.

THE PIOVS HOME-employmente of Sir THOMAS MORES; and his godly councels giuen to his vvyfe and children.

1. *Sir Th. Mores home-entertainements and deuotions.*
2. *His beehauiour towardes his wyfe and children and councels giuen them.*
3. *Sir Th. More ſtudiouſly vvrote agaynſt bereſyes in midſt of his affayres.*
4. *A vievv of many vvitts and pithy ſpeeches of S. T. Mores.*
5. *Sir Th. Mores profound skill in diuinytye.*

Although

1. Lthough he liued a Courtier and a lay married man yet when he came home, he would both in the morning and in the euening, before he went to bedde, say in his Chappell certaine praiers deuoutely vpon his knees, with his wife, children and familie, and because he was desirous sometimes to be solitarie, and would sequester himself from the world, to recollect himselfe and shake of the duft of earthlie businesses, which otherwise would easily defile his soule, he built for himselfe a Chappell, a librarie and a gallerie, called the New buildings, a good distance from his mayne house, wherein as his custome was, vpon other daies to busie himself in prayer and meditation, whensoeuer he was at leasure, so vsually he would continue there on the Frydaies, in memorie of Christ's bitter passion, from morning vntill night, spending the whole day in deuotion, so that he became an excellent

S. T. Mores home-entertainments & deuotiõs.

lent man in the Contemplatiue life; of all which lett vs heare what *Erasmus* writeth: More *hath built neare* London *vpon the* Thames *side* (to witt, at *Chelsey* that which my lo: of *Lincolne* bought of *Sir Robert Cecile*) *a commodious house, neither meane nor subiect to enuie, yet magnificent enough: there he conuerseth affably with his familie, his wife, his sonne and daughter in lawe, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleauen grandchildren; there is not anie man liuing, so louing to his children as he, and he loueth his olde wife as well as if she were a yong mayde; and such is the excellencie of his temper, that whatsoeuer happeneth that could not be helped, he loueth it as though nothing could happen more happily. You would say there were in that place* Plato's *Academie; but I do the house iniury in comparing it to* Plato's *academie, wherein there was only disputations of numbers and Geometricall figures, and sometimes of morall vertues. I should rather call his howse a schoole or vniuersitie of Christian religion; for there is none therein but readeth or studieth*

The excellent order of his family.

dieth the liberall Sciences; their ſpeciall care is pietie and vertue; there is no quarrelling or intemperate wordes heard, none ſeene idle; which houſholde diſcipline that worthie Gentleman doth not gouerne by proude and loftie wordes, but with all kinde and courteous beneuolence; euerie bodie perfourmeth his dutie, yet is there alwaies alacritie, neither is ſober mirth anie thing wanting. And againe he writeth thus: *His firſt wife, which was but yong, he cauſed to be inſtructed in learning, and to be taught all kinde of muſike; ſhe dying after ſhe had brought forth foure children, he married, as is aforeſayd, a widowe, not for luſt, but to be a gouerneſſe, to his yong familie, who although ſhe were inclining to olde age, and of a nature ſomewhat harſh and beſides very worldlie, yet he perſwaded her to play vpon the lute, viol, and ſome other inſtruments, euerie day perfourming thereon her taske; and ſo with the like gentleneſſe he ordered his whole familie.* He ſuffered none of his ſeruants either to be idle or to giue themſelues to anie games; but ſome of them he allotted to looke

His vſiues employmẽt.

His ſeruants diſcipline.

to the gardin, assigning to euerie one his sundrie plott; some againe he fett to sing, some to play on the organs; he suffered none to gine themselues to cardes or dice. The men abode on the one side of the house, the women on the other, seldome conuersing togeather; he vsed before bedtime to call them togeather, and say certaine prayers with them, as the *Miserere* psalme; *Ad te, Domine, leuaui; Deus misereatur nostri; Salue Regina*; and *De profundis* for the dead, and some others; he suffered none to be absent from Masse on the Sondaies, or vpon holie daies; and vpon great feasts he gott them to watche the eeues all the Mattins time. Vpon Good Fryday he would call them togeather into the New-buildings; and reading the holie Passion vnto them, he would now and then interpose some speaches of his owne to moue them either to compassion, compunction, or such pious affections. *Erasmus* sayth, that there was a fatall felicitie fallen on the seruants of that house, that none liued but in better estate after Sir THOMAS MORE's death; none euer was tou-

Euening prayers.

Vigils. His deuotiō on good fryday.

touched with the leaſt aſperſion of anie euill fame.

His tabletalke.

He vſed to haue one reade daily at his table, which being ended, he would aske of ſome of them, how they vnderſtood ſuch and ſuch a place, and ſo there grew a friendlie communication, recreating all men that were preſent, with ſome ieaſte or other. My aunte *Rooper* writing hereof to her father in the Tower ſayth: What doe you thinke, my moſt deare father, doth comfort vs at *Chelſey* in this your abſence? ſurely the remembrance of your manner of life paſſed amongſt vs, your holie conuerſation, your holeſome counſells, your examples of vertue, of which there is hope that they do not only perſeuere with you, but that they are by Gods grace much more encreaſed.

2. His children vſed often to tranſlate out of English into Latine, and out of Latine into English: and Doctour *Stapleton* teſtifyeth that he hath ſene an Apologie of Sir THOMAS MORE'S to the vniuerſitie of *Oxford* in defence of learning, turned into Latine by one of his

2. His behaueour towvard his vvife and children, and counſels giuē thē.

daughters, and translated againe into English by another. And to stirre vp his wife and children to the desire of heauenlie things, he would sometimes vse these and the like wordes vnto them: It is now noe maisterie for you, my ioyes, to gett heauen; for euerie bodie giueth you good example, euerie one storeth your heads with good counsells; you see also vertue rewarded, and vice punished; so that you are carried vp thither by the chinnes; but yf you chance to liue that time, wherein none will giue you good example, nor none anie good counsell; when you shall see before your eyes vertue punished and vice rewarded, if then you will stand fast, and sticke to God closely, vpon paine of my life, though you be but halfe good, God will allowe you for whole good. Yf his wife or anie of his children chanced to be sicke or troubled, he would say vnto them: we must not looke to goe to heauen at our pleasure and on fotherbeds; that is not the way, for our Lord himself went thither with greate paine; and the seruant must not looke to be in better

To desire heauenly matters.

To beare afflictiõs patiently.

ter caſe then his maiſter. As he would in this ſorte animate them to beare their troubles patiētly, ſo would he in like manner teache them to withſtande the diuell and his temptations valiantly, comparing our ghoſtlie enemye to an ape, whith if he be not looked vnto, he will be buſie and bolde to doe shrewede turnes; but if he be eſpyed and checked for them, he will ſuddenly leape backe and aduenture no further; ſo the diuell finding a man idle, ſluggish, & vſing no reſiſtance to his ſuggeſtions, waxeth hardie, and will not fayle ſtill to continue them, vntill he hath throughly brought vs to his purpoſe; but if he finde a man with diligence ſtill ſeeking to withſtand and preuent his temptations he waxeth wearie, and at laſt he vtterly forſaketh him, being a ſpiritt of ſo high a pride, that he cannot endure to be mocked; and againe ſo enuious that he feareth ſtill leaſt he not only thereby ſhould catche a fowle fall, but alſo miniſter vnto vs more matter of meritt. When he ſaw anie of his take greate paines in dreſſing themſelues to be fine either in wearing that

So withſtand temptations of the diuel.

Againſt too much curioſity in dreſſing.

which was vneasie, or in stroaking vp their hayre to make themselues high foreheads, he would tell them that if God gaue them not hell, he should doe them great iniurie; for they tooke more paynes to please the world and the diuell, then manie euen vertuous men did to cleanse their soules and please God.

A happy houshold.

Manie such speaches tending to deuotion and care of their soules had he euerie day at dinner and supper, after the reading was done, as is before sayd, with such heauenlie discourses flowing with eloquence, that it might well be sayd of him, which the Queene of *Saba* sayd of *Salomon*: Blessed art thou, and blessed by thy Lord God; and blessed are all they that attende and wayte on thee; For no doubt there was the spirite of God in that familie, where euerie one was busied about somewhat or other; no cardes, no dice, no companie keeping of the men with the women; but as it were in some religious house, all chaste, all courteous, all deuout; their recreations was either musike of voices or viols; for which cause he procured his wife, as I haue

Their ordinary recreations.

haue ſayd, to play thereon, to draw her minde from the worlde, to which by nature she was too much addicted; but ſo, as Sir THOMAS would ſay of her, that she was often penny-wiſe, and pound-foolish, ſauing a candle's ende, and ſpoyling a veluett gowne. Of her alſo he meant it, when in his bookes of Comfort in Tribulation he telleth of one, who would rate her husband, becauſe he had no minde to ſett himſelf forward in the world, ſaying vnto him: Tillie vallie, tillie vallie: will you ſit and make goſlings in the aſhes; my mother hath often ſayd, vnto me: it is better to rule then to be ruled. Now in truth, anſwered Sir THOMAS, that is truly ſayd, good wife; for I neuer found you yet willing to be ruled. And in another place of the ſame booke he calleth this wife of his, a iollie Maiſter-woman.

3. For all his publike affayres and houſholde exercises, he neuer left of to write learned bookes either of deuotion or againſt hereſies, which now beganne to ſpreade the miſchiefe from *Germanie* into *Flanders*, & from thence into

3. S. T. More ſtudiouſly wrate againſt hereſies in midſt of of his affaires.

into *England* by manie pestiferous pamphe-letts and bookes, against which Sir THOMAS MORE laboured with his penne more then anie other English man whatsoeuer, in regarde of his zeale to God, and the honour of his immaculate spouse the Catholike Church, as appeareth by his foure bookes of Dialogues, a worke full of learning and witt, where he argueth most profoundly of the Inuocation of Saints, pilgrimages, relikes, and Images; he teacheth also substantially, how we may knowe, which is the true Church, and that that Church cannot erre.

The praise of his Dialogue

After he had ended this booke, there was a lewde fellow sett out a pamphlett intituled the *Supplication* of Beggers; by which vnder pretence of helping the poore, he goeth about to cast out the Clergie and to ouerthrowe all Abbies and religious houses, bearing men in hand, that after that the Gospell should be preached, beggars and bawdes should decreate, theifes and idle people be the fewer, &c. Against whome Sir THOMAS wrote a singular booke, which he named

His answer to the Supplication of beggars.

he named *A Supplication of the ſoules in Purgatorie*, making them there, complaine of the moſt vncharitable dealing of certaine vpſtarts, who would perſwade all men to take from thē the ſpirituall almes, that haue bene in all ages beſtowed vpon theſe poore ſoules, who feele greater miſerie then anie beggar in this world; and he proueth moſt truly that an ocean of manie miſchieuous euents would indeede ouerwhelme the realme: *Then, ſayth he, ſhall* Luther's *goſpell come in, then ſhall* Tindall's *Teſtament be taken vp; then ſhall falſe hereſies be preached, then ſhall the Sacraments be ſett at naught, then ſhall faſting and prair be neglected, then ſhall holie Saints be blaſphemed, then ſhall Almightie god be diſpleaſed, then ſhall he withdrawe his grace and lett all runne to ruine, then ſhall all vertue be had in deriſion, then ſhall all vice raigne and runne forth vnbrideled, then ſhall youth leaue labour and all occupation, then ſhall folkes waxe idle and fall to vnthriftineſſe, then ſhall whores and thieues, beggars and bawdes increaſe, then ſhall vnthriftes flocke to-*

The Supplication of ſoules of Purgatory.

The vvofull effects of hereſy.

 geather

geather, and eache beare him bolde of other, then shall all lawes be laughed to ſcorne, then shall ſeruants ſett naught by their maiſters, and vnrulie people rebelle againſt their gouernours, then will riſe vp rifeling and robberie, miſchiefe and plaine inſurrection; whereof what the ende will be, or when you shall ſee it, onely God knoweth. And that *Luther's* new Goſpell hath taken ſuch effect in manie partes of Chriſtendome, the woefull experience doth feelingly to the great griefe of all good folkes teſtifye to the world; Of all which, and that the land would be peopled to the deuouring of one another, he writeth particularly more like one that had ſeene what had enſued alreadie, then like one that ſpoke of things to come.

Againſt Tindal, Frith, and Barnes.

He wrote alſo a labourſome booke againſt *Tindall*, refuting particularly euerie periode of his bookes; a short treatiſe alſo againſt young Father Fryth in defence of the reall preſence, which that heretike did gainesay and for that was after burnt. Againſt Fryer *Barnes* his church he wrote alſo an Apologie, and a de-

Apology.

fence

fence thereof, vnder the name of *Salem* and *Byzanze*; which are all ſett forth togeather with that mott excellent peece of worke compriſed in three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation; which ſubiect he handleth ſo wittily as none hath come neare him either in weight of graue ſentences, deuout conſiderations or fit ſimilitudes; ſeaſoning alwaies the troubleſomneſſe of the matter with ſome merrie ieaſtes or pleaſant tales, as it were ſugar, whereby we drinke vp the more willingly theſe wholeſome druggs, of themſelues vnſauorie to flesh and bloud; which kinde of writing he hath vſed in all his workes, ſo that none can euer be wearie to reade them, though they be neuer ſo long.

Debellation of Salem & Bizance.

Comfort in tribulation.

4. Wherefore I haue thought it not amiſſe to ſett downe in this place amongſt a thouſand others, ſome of his Apophthegmes, which Doctour *Stapleton* hath collected in two whole Chapters:

4. A vieww of many wwitty & pithy ſpeeches of S. Th. Mores.

Doe not thinke, ſaith Sir THOMAS MORE, that, to be alwaies pleaſant, which madde men doe laughing. For one may often ſee a man in

The vulgar no true iudge of things.

Bedlem laugh, when he knockes his head againſt the wall; vttering this to condemne them that eſteeme all things good or badde, which the common people iudge to be.

Sinners diſtaſted.

Againe: A ſinner, ſaith he, cannot taſte ſpirituall delights; becauſe all carnall are firſt to be abandoned.

Why fevv do feare death.

By an excellent ſimilitude he teacheth vs, why few doe feare death thus: Euen as they which looke vpon things afarre of, ſee them confuſedly, not knowing whether they be men or trees; euen ſo he that promiſeth vnto himſelfe long life, looketh vpon death as a thing farre of, not iudging what it is, how terrible, what griefes and dangers it bringeth with it. And that none ought to promiſe himſelfe long life, he proueth thus: Euen as two men that are brought out of priſon to the gallowes, one by a long way about, the other by a direct ſhort path, yet neither knowing, which is which, vntill they come to the gallowes, neither of theſe two can promiſe himſelf longer life, the one then the other, by reaſon of the vncertaintie of

No man ſure of long life.

the

the way; euen ſo a yong man can not promiſe himſelf longer life, then an olde man.

Againſt the vanitie of worldlie honour he ſpeaketh thus: Euen as that criminall perſon, who is to be lead to execution shortly should be accounted vayne, if he should engraue his Coate of Armes vpon the priſon gate; euen ſo are they vaine, who endeauour to leaue, with great induſtrie, monuments of their dignitie in the priſon of this world. VVorlds vanity.

By a ſubtile *dilemma*, he teacheth vs, why we are not to thinke that we can be hurt, by the loſſe of our ſuperfluous goods, in this manner: he that ſuffereth anie loſſe of his goods, he would either haue beſtowed them with praiſe and liberalitie, and ſo God will accept his will in ſteede of the deede itſelfe, or elſe he would haue waiſted them wickedly, and then he hath cauſe to reioyce, that the matter of ſinning is taken away. VVorldly loſſes hurt not.

To expreſſe liuely the follie of an olde couetous man he writeth thus: a thiefe that is to dye to morrow, ſtealeth to day; and being The folly of old misers.

asked, why he did so, he answered, that it was a great pleasure vnto him to be maister of that money but one night; so an olde miser neuer ceaseth to encrease his heape of coyne, though he be neuer so aged.

To expresse the follie and madnesse of them that delight wholy in hording vp wealth, he writeth in the person of the soules in purgatorie thus in his booke of the Supplication of the Soules: We that are here in purgatorie when we thinke of our bags of golde, which we horded vp in our life time, we condemne & laugh at our owne follie no otherwise, then if a man of good yeares should finde by chance the bagg of Cherrie stones, which he had carefully hidde, when he was a childe.

Madnes of couetous mē.

In his booke of Comfort in tribulation, that men should not be troubled in aduersitie, he writeth thus: The mindes of mortall men are so blinde and vncertaine, so mutable and vnconstant in their desires, that God could not punish men worse, then if he should suffer euerie thing to happen that euerie man doth wish for.

Fruits of tribulation.

for. The fruit of tribulation he describeth thus all punishment inflicted in hell, is only as a iust reuenge because it is no place of purging: In purgatorie all punishmēts purge only, because it is no place of merit; but in this life, euerie punishment can both purge sinne and procure merit for a iust man, because in this life there is place for both.

He sayth also that they which giue themselues to pleasure and idlenesse in this time of pilgrimage, are like to him, who trauelling to his owne house, where there is abundance of all things, would yet be an hosteler in an Inne by the way, for to gett an Innekeepers fauour, and so ende his life there in a stable. Howe fonde it is to loue this vvorld.

Speaking of ghostlie Fathers, that seeke to please their penitents, he sayth: Euen as a mother sendeth forth her childe to schoole with fayre words and promises, that hath slept too long in the morning, and therefore feareth the rodde, when he weepeth and blubbereth she promiseth him, all will be well, because it is nōt so late as he imagineth, or that his maister will Against Confessours that flatter their ghostly Childre.

par-

pardon him for that faulte this time, not caring what he endureth when he cometh thither indeede, so she send him merrie from home with his bread & butter in his hand; euen so, manie Pastours of soules speake pleasing things to their sheepe that are riche and delicate, they promise them, when they are dying, and feare hell, that all things shall be well with them, telling them, that either they haue not offended God so grieuously as they feare, or that God being mercieful will easily forgiue thē, nothing carefull whether after this life they feele hell or no, so that they make them not sadde in this world, & shew thēselues gratefull vnto thē here.

Affliction more profitable then pleasure.

Pleasure, sayth he, doth not only withdrawe wicked men from prayer, but also affliction sometimes; yet this is the differēce, that affliction doth sometimes wrest some short praier from the wickedest man aliue; but pleasure calleth away euen one that is indifferent good from all prayer.

Against differring of amēdment.

Against impenitent persons and such as differre the amending of their life till the latter ende

ende of their dayes, he sayth thus: A lewde fellowe that had spent all his life in wickednesse, was wont to bragge, that he could be saued, yf he spoke but three wordes at the hower of his death; riding ouer a bridge that was broken, his horse stumbling, and not being able to keepe himself from tumbling into the water, as he saw himself fall headlong into it casting away the bridle, he sayd: the Diuell Take All; and so with his three wordes he perished in the riuer.

Visions, and illusions.

He that is lightened with a true vision, differeth from him that hath an illusion; euen as a man awake differeth from him that dreameth.

Pusillanimity a daungerous temptation.

Euen as he that passeth ouer a narrow bridge, by reason of his feare often falleth, especially if others say vnto him: you fall; which otherwise he would safely passe ouer; euen so he that is fearefull by nature and full of pusillanimitie, often falleth into desperation, the diuell crying vnto him; thou art damned, thou art damned; which he would neuer harken to, nor be in anie danger, if he should take vnto him a good

hart, and by holeſome counſell feare nothing the diuell's outcrye.

Danger of prosperity.

The proſperitie of this world is like the shorteſt winter's day; and we are lifted vp in it as an arrowe shott vp on high, where a hote breath doth delight vs, but from thence we fall ſuddenly to the earth, and there we ſticke faſt, either bemired with the durt of infamie, or ſtaruing with colde, being pluckt out of our feathers.

Of riches and honours.

Againe he ſayth? As it is a hard thing, to touche pitch, and not to be defiled there with, a drye ſticke to be putt into the fire, and not to burne, to nourish a ſnake in our boſome, and not to be ſtung with it; ſo a moſt hard thing it is to be rich and honoured in this world, and not to be ſtrucke with the darte of pride and vaine glorie.

All riches of this world none of our owne.

Lett there be two beggars, ſaith he, who haue long time begged togeather; one of whome ſome rich man hath entertayned in his houſe, putt him in ſilke, giuen him money in his purſe, but with this condition, as he telles him, that with

with in a short space, he will thrust him out of his doores, and take all that away from him againe; if he in the meane while being thus gallant, should chance to meete with his fellow beggar, would he be so foolish as for all this not to acknowledge him for his companion? or would he for these few daies happinesse holde himself better then he? Applying this to euerie mans case, who cometh naked into this world, and is to returne naked againe.

He compareth Couetousnesse to a fire, which by how much the more wood there is layde on it to burne, so much apter it is to burne more still. Couetousnesse

That there are manie in this life, that buy hell with more toyle, then heauen might be wonne with, by halfe. Bad marchants.

He foresawe heresie in England, as appeareth by this wittie comparison; Like as before a great storme the sea swelleth, and hath vnwonted motions without anie winde stirring; so may we see here manie of our Englishmen, which a few yeares agoe could not endure to heare the A prediction of heresy.

name of an Heretike, Schismatike, Lutheran or Sacramentarie, now to be very well contented both to suffer them and to praise them somewhat, yea to learne by little and little as much as they can be suffered, to finde faulte, and to taxe willingly the Church, the Clergie, the Ceremonies, yea and Sacraments too.

Riche are not goods.

Also he hath this argument; yf he be called stoute that hath fortitude, he hote, who hath heate, wise that hath wisedome; yet he who hath riches, cannot be sayd presently to be good; therefore riches cannot be numbred amongst good things. Twētie, yea a hundred bare heads standing by a noble man doe not defende his head from colde so much as his owne hat doth alone, which yet he is enforced to putt of in the presence of his prince.

The worst affection.

That is the worst affection of the minde, which doth delight vs in that thing, which cannot be gotten but by offending God. He that doth gett or keepe worldlie wealth by offending God, lett him fully perswade himself, that those thinges wil neuer do him good; for either God

God will quickely take away euill gotten goods, or will ſuffer them to be kept for a greater miſchiefe.

Euen as he that knoweth certainely that he is to be banished into a ſtrange countrie, neuer to returne into his owne againe, and will not endure that his goods be tranſported thither, being loath to want them for that little while rather then euer to enioy them after, may well be thought a madde man; ſo are they out of their witts, who inticed with vaine affections to keepe their goods alwaies about them, and neglectiue to giue almes for feare of wanting, cannot endure to haue theſe goods ſent before them to heauen, when as they knowe moſt aſſuredly that they ſhall enioye them alwaies therewith all plentie, and with a double rewarde. Almes deedes.

To eaſe his thoughts when he was in priſon, he imagined that all the world was but a priſon, out of which euerie day ſome one or other was called to execution, that is to death. An the vvorld a priſon.

In his dailie talke he vſed alſo manie wittie To ſuffer for God.

sayings, as: that it is an easie matter in some cases for a man to loose his head, and yet to haue no harme at all.

The world no recompenser.

Good deedes the world being vngratefull is wont neuer to recompence, neither can it, though it were gratefull.

Heresy impudent.

Speaking of heretikes he would say; they haue taken away hipocrisie, but they haue placed impudencie in the roome thereof; so that they which before fayned themselues to be religious, now doe boaste of their wickednesse.

Prayer.

He prayed thus: O Lord God, grant, that I endeauour to gett those things, for which I am to pray vnto thee.

Detraction.

When he had anie at his table speaking detraction, he would interrupt them thus; Lett anie man thinke as he pleaseth, I like this roome very well; for it is well contriued and fayrely built.

Ingratitude.

Of an vngratefull person he would say, that they wrote good turnes donne vnto them in the dust; but euen the least iniuries, in marble.

Faith the mistresse of reason

He compareth reason to a handmayde, which

which if she be well taught, will obey; and Faith to the mistrisse, which is to keepe her in awe: *captiuans intellectum in obsequium fidei.*

To seeke for the truth amongst heretikes, is like to a man wandring in a desert, & meeting with a companie of lewde fellowes, of whome he asketh his way they all turning back to backe, each poynteth right before him, & assureth him that that is his true way; though neuer so contrarie one to the other. No truth among heretikes

He sayth that he were a madde man, that would drinke poyson to take a preseruatiue after that; but he is a wise man, that spilling the poison, leaueth the antidote for him, that hath need thereof. Better preuent, then redresse.

As it is an easier thing to weaue a new nett rather then to sowe vp all the holes of an olde; euen so it is a lesse labour to translate the Bible a new, then to mende heretical versions. Heretical trāslations.

He is not wise that eateth the bread, which is poysoned by his enemies, although he should see a friend of his scrape it away neuer so much, especially hauing other bread to eate not poysoned. Auoid heresy.

The

Fasting. The heretikes saying that none ought to fast, but when they are troubled with the motions of the flesh, he answereth; if it be so, no married man needes to fast; for they haue another remedie at hand; and virgins durst not fast, least wanton fellowes should marke them, when carnall temptations most assayle them, and this were for one to shew to others their fleshlie frayltie s.

Desire of heauen. He was wont to say that he may well be admitted to heauen, who was verie desirous to see God; but on the contrarie side, he that doth not desire earnestly shall neuer be admitted thither.

Monasticall life. Against an heretike he speaketh thus: that if monasticall life be against the Gospell, as you seeme to say it must needes be, that the gospell be contrarie vnto it; and that were to say that Christ taught vs to pamper ourselues carefully, to eate well, to drinke well, to sleepe well and flowe in all lust and pleasure.

Faith and good vvorkes. Yf Faith cannot be without good workes, why then bable you so much against good workes,

workes, which are the fruicts of fayth.

That people should fall into bad life and luſt, is as great a miracle, he ſaith, as ſtones to fall downewards. Bad life no miracle.

Whereas (he ſayth) you inueighe againſt Schoole-Diuinitie, becauſe truth is there called in doubt, not without danger; we inueighe againſt you, becauſe falſe matters are held by you vndoubtedly for truth it ſelfe. Schoole-diuinity.

Theſe good fellowes (ſpeaking of heretikes) will rather hang out of Gods vinyarde, then ſuffer themſelues to be hired into it. Heretikes.

Heretikes writings, ſeing they conclude no good thing, are altogeather tedious, be they neuer ſo short.

And againe: As none can runne a shorter race, then he that wantes both his feete; ſo none can write shorter then he that hath not anie good matter, nor fitt wordes to expreſſe it.

When an heretike tolde him, that he should not write againſt heretikes, vnleſſe he could conuerte them; he ſayd, that it was like, as if one should not finde faulte with burners of Impugning of hereſie.

T houſen,

houſen, vnleſſe he were able to builde them vp againe at his owne charge.

Here ike falſplay.

He telleth, that heretikes vſe to frame Catholikes argumentes very weake and friuolous, that they may the more eaſily confute them; euen as little children make houſes of tyleshardes, which they caſt downe with great ſporte againe preſently.

Their contumelies.

Of their contumelious ſpeaches againſt himſelf he ſayth, I am not ſo voyde of reaſon, that I can expect reaſonable matter from ſuch vnreaſonable men.

His hatred againſt hereſy in good earneſt.

When they ſayd his writings were nothing but ieaſting toyes, he ſayth; I ſcarce belieue that theſe good brethren can finde anie pleaſant thing in my bookes; for I write nothing in them that may be pleaſing vnto them. When the heretike *Conſtantine* had broken priſon in his houſe, he bad his man goe locke the doore faſt and ſee the place mended ſure, leaſt he ſhould come back againe; and when the heretikes reported, that he was ſorie for this, that he could not for anger eate in three daies, he anſwered

ſwered that he was not ſo harsh of diſpoſition to finde fault with anie man for riſing and walking, when he ſate not at his eaſe,

All his English workes were ſett out togeather in a great volume, whilſt Q. Marie raigned, by Iudge *Rastall* Sir THOMAS his ſiſter's ſonne, by which workes one may ſee that he was verie skillfull in Schoole-Diuinitie and matters of Controuerſie, for he argueth sharpely, he confirmeth the truth profoundly, and citeth both Scriptures and Fathers moſt aptely; beſides he vrgeth for the aduerſe parte more a great deale, then anie heretike euer did, that wrote before him.

5. His profound skill in diuinyty.

But to ſee how he handleth *Luther* vnder the name of one *Roſſe*, would do anie man good, faining that *Roſſe* wrote his booke from *Rome*, againſt the moſt ridiculous and ſcurrilous pāphlett, which *Luther* had made againſt King *Henrie* the eighth, who of good zeale had ſett out with great praiſe a booke in defence of the Seauen Sacraments, & the Popes authoritie; for which Pope *Leo* the tenth gaue

None handled Luther more kindly.

him the tile of Defender of the Faith. Wherefore in defence of his Soueraigne, whome *Luther* had moſt baſely rayled at, calling him often Thomiſtical aſſe, & that he would beray the king's Crowne, who was not worthie to wipe his shoes, with manie other ſcurrilous ſpeaches; Sir THOMAS painteth out the fowle mouthed fellowe in his liuelie coulours, and made him ſo enraged, that it ſtung him more then anie other booke, that euer was ſett out againſt him.

Sir Thomas More vvell ſtudied in S. Thomas doctrin.

Finally in euerie one of his bookes, whenſoeuer he toucheth anie controuerſie, he doth it ſo exactly that one may ſee, that he had diligently read manie great Diuines; and that he was very well ſeene in *S. Thomas* the father of all Diuinitie, this may be an euident ſigne, which his Secretarie *Iohn Harris* a man of ſound iudgement and great pietie, reported of him, that on a time an hereticall booke newly printed and ſpread abroad was brought to Sir THOMAS; which when he read, being in his boate, going frō *Chelſey* to *London*, he ſhewed cer-

certaine of the author's arguments with his fingar to *M.r Harris* saying: Loe here how the knaue's argument is taken out of the obiections of *S. Thomas in* 2. 2. in such and such an article; but the lewde fellow might haue seene the solutions, which are presently added there. He maintayned also in a learned Disputation with Fa: *Alphonsus* the Franciscan *Q. Catherin's* ghostlie Father *Scotus* his opinion of Attrition and Contricion, as more safely to be followed, then that of *Occhamus*; by all which it may be gathered, that he had great insight in the diuersitie of Scholasticall opinions. And other schooldiuines.

He wrote also a booke in Latine against *Pomeran* the heretike, and indeede laboured very much rather to reduce such men vnto the Catholike Faith then to punish them for their reuolte: & yet in his epitaphe he sayth of himself, that he was to theeues, murtherers and heretikes grieuous: and *Simon Grineus* a Lutheran boasteth in his translation of *Proclus* dedicated to my grandfather, how courteously Sir THOMAS his father vsed him, whē he was in *Englād*. His epistle against Pomeranus.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

K. HENRIES FIRST ſcruples in his Mariage; Sir THOMAS MORES care in the education of his children.

1. *The ambition of Cardinall Wolſey occaſion of K. Henry his fall.*
2. *K. Henry communicates his ſcruple about his marriage with S. T. More.*
3. *S. T. Mores prædiction of the fall of England from religion.*
4. *He reduceth his ſonne Roper miraculouſly from hereſy.*
5. *He obtaineth his daughter Margarets health of God by prayer.*

6. *S. T. Mores domestique schoole.*
7. *His delight, and contentment in the studies of his children.*
8. *How his daughter Margaret proued excellent, for her sex, in learning.*

1. WHile Sir THOMAS MORE was Chãcellour of the Duchie, the Sea of *Rome* chanced to be vacant; and Cardinall *Wolsey* a man of vnsatiable ambition, who had crept vp in the fauour of *Charles* the Fift, (so that the Emperour still writing vnto him called him Father, and the other called him sonne,) hoped now by his meanes to attaine to the popedome; but perceauing himself of that expectation frustrate and disappoynted, because the Emperour in the time of their election had highly commended another to the whole Colledge of the Cardinalls, called *Adrian*, who was a Flemming, and had bene sometime his schoole maister, a man of rare learning & singular vertue; who therevpõ all-

1. Cardinal Wolsey his ambition.

though

though absent and little dreaming of it, was chosen Pope; and then forth with going from Spayne, where he was then resident, came on foote to *Rome*. Before he entred into the Cittie, putting of his hose and shoes, barefoote and bare leggd he passed through the streetes towards his pallace, with such humilitie & deuotion that all the people not without cause had him in greate reuerence and admiracion; but, as I sayd, Cardinall Wolsey, a man of contrarie qualities, waxed therewith so wroth, and stomacked so the Emperour for it euer after, that he studyed still how he might reuenge himselfe anie waies against him; which as it was the beginning of a lamentable tragedie, so the ende thereof we cannot yet see, although there haue bene almost one hundred yeares sithence. This *VVolsey* therefore not ignorant of King *Henrie's* vnconstant & mutable disposition, inclined to withdrawe his affections vpon euerie light occasion from his owne most noble, vertuous and lawfull wife Q. *Catherine* the Emperour's owne aunte, and to fixe this amourous

Pope Adrias humilitie.

Wolsey the author of K. H. 8. fall.

pas-

paſſions vpon other women, nothing comparable vnto her either in birth, wiſedome, vertue, fauour, or externall beautie; this irreligious prelate meaning to make the king's lightneſſe an inſtrument to bring about his vnconſcionable intent, endeauoured by all the meanes he could to allure the king to caſt his fancie vpon one of the French king's ſiſters; the king being fallen in loue alreadie, he not ſuſpecting anie ſuch thing, with the ladie *Anne Bullen* a woman of no nobilitie, no nor ſo much as of anie worthie fame.

This French matche he thought to plott to ſpite the Emperour, becauſe at that time there was great warres and mortall enmitie betweene the French king and *Charles* the Fift. For the better compaſſing whereof, the Cardinal requeſted *Longland* Bishopp of *London*, who was the king's ghoſtlie father, to putt a ſcruple into king *Henrie's* head, that he ſhould, as it were another *S. Iohn Baptiſt*, (though the caſe were nothing like,) tell his Maieſtie, that it was not lawfull for him like

Longland B. of Lõdõ. Wolſeys inſtrumẽt.

another *Herode* to marrie his brothers wife.

2. K. Henry communicateth with S. T. More, his scruple concerning his first marriage

And although K. *Henrie's* conscience had bene quiett now aboue twentie yeares togeather, yet was he not vnwilling to hearken herevnto: but entertayning it, opened his scruple to Sir THOMAS MORE, whose counsell he required herein, shewing him certaine places of Scripture, that somewhat seemed to serue the turne and his appetite. VVhich when Sir THOMAS had seriously perused, and had excused himself saying, he was vnfitt to meddle with such matters, being one that neuer had professed the studie of Diuinitie: The king not satisfyed with this answer, knowing well his iudgement to be sound in whatsoeuer he would apply himselfe vnto; pressed him so sore, that in conclusion he condescended to his Maiesties requeste being as it were a commaunde; and for that the cause was of such weight and importance, hauing neede of greate deliberation, he besought his Maiestie to giue him sufficient respite aduisedly to consider of it; with which the king very well satisfyed, sayd that *Tunstall* and *Clarke*, two

worthie

worthie Bishops, one of *Durham*, the other of *Bathe*, with others the learnedest of his priuie Councell should also be his Coadiutours.

Sir THOMAS taking his leaue of the king, went and conferred with them about those places of Scripture, adding thereto, for their better meanes to search out the truth, the expositions of the ancient Fathers, and Doctours of the Church; and at his next coming to the Courte, talking with the king about this matter, he spake thus: To deale sincerely with your Maiestie neither my Lo: of *Durham*, nor my Lo: of *Bathe*, though I knowe them both wise, vertuous, learned, and honourable prelates, nor my self with the rest of your Councell, being all your Grace's owne seruants and subiects, for your manifolde benefitts daily bestowed vpon vs so much bound vnto your Highnesse; none of vs, I say, nor we all togeather are in my iudgement meete counsellers for your Maiestie herein: but if your princelie disposition purpose to vnderstande the verie truth hereof, you may haue such counsellers, as nei-

Sir Tho. Mores discreet answver to the kings scruple.

ther for reſpect of their owne worldlie commoditie, nor feare of your princelie authoritie will be enclined to deceaue you; and then he named *S. Hierome*, *S. Auſtine*, and diuerſe others both Greeke and Latine Fathers; ſhewing him moreouer, what authorities he had gathered out of them, that he neede not haue anie further ſcruple thereof, and that marrying of a new wife, whilſt his owne was aliue, was wholy repugnāt to their doctrine and the meaning of the Scriptures. All which though king *Henrie* did not very well like of, becauſe it was diſguſtfull to his paſſionate luſt; yet the manner of Sir THOMAS his diſcourſe and collection was ſo wiſely tempered, by his diſcreete communication, that he tooke them at that preſent in good parte, and often had conference of them againe.

His moſt vpright conſcience, and conſtant zeal of the truth.

By which manner of Sir THOMAS his counſell and ſincere carriage, one may eaſily gather, what vnſpotted conſcience this vpright man had, who for no hope of gaine, or anie feare of diſgrace, would once ſwarue from the true di-

ctamen

ctamen of his Conſcience: and if the reſt of king *Henrie's* counſell had bene as backward, (to hinder this beginning of diſſolution) as Sir THOMAS was, no alteration of religion had by all likelyhood happened in England; for from this onlie ſpring of K. *Henrie's* intemperance, proceeded all the ſucceeding calamities, which haue daily increaſed, & yet haue not anie hope of amendement.

All which change Sir THOMAS MORE either like a very wiſe man foreſawe long before, or rather like a prophete prophecied thereof to my vncle *Rooper*, who on a time of a certaine ioy beganne to commende to his father-in lawe the happie eſtate of this realme, that had ſo Catholike and zealous a prince, that no heretike durſt shew his face; ſo learned and vertuous a Cleargie, ſo graue and ſounde a Nobilitie, ſuch louing and obedient ſubiects, all agreing togeather in one faith and dutifulneſſe, as though they had *cor vnum & animam vnam*, but one hart and one ſoule; Sir THOMAS thus replyed againe: Truth it is indeede, ſonne *Rooper*, as

3. He foreſavv in ſpirit the fall of religion in England.

you say, and going through all estates with his commẽdations of them, he went farre beyond my vncle; and yet sonne, quoth he, I pray God, that some of vs, as high as wee seeme to sitt now vpon the mountaines, treading heretikes vnder our feete like antes, doe not liue the day that we gladly would wish to be in league with them, to suffer them to haue their churches quietly to themselues, so that they would he content to lett vs haue ours peaceably to our selues. VVhen mine vncle *Rooper* had tolde him manie reasons, why he had no cause to say so; well, sayd he, I pray God some of vs liue not till that day; and yet shewed he noe reason for all these his speaches. whereat my vncle sayd in a choller: By my troath Sir it is very desperately spoken; I cry God mercie (saith my vncle) I vsed vnto him that very word. By which speach Sir THOMAS perceauing him to be somewhat angrie, sayd merrily: well sonne *Rooper*, it shall not be so, it shall not be so. But yet himself founde the predictiõ too true: for he liued vntil the fiueteenth yeare of Q. *Elizabeth's* raigne, when

when he saw religion turned topsie turuie, and no hope of anie amendement.

This spiritt of prophecie no doubt was a signe of Gods loue vnto Sir THOMAS, being so deare in his sight, that he would make him partaker of some parte of his secretts: but that which he wrought in the conuersion of this his sonne in lawe, was not a signe only, but an euident demonstratiō of God's great fauour vnto him. For when *Mr VVilliam Rooper* was a yong man, he vsed austeritie to himselfe more then discretion afforded; and by this meanes he grew wearie of the Catholike fasts and religious discipline; and hearing of a new and easie way to heauen, which the preachers of nouelties did promise to their followers, he beganne to reade diligently the bookes of heresies, which came ouer, and were spread in euerie place of England; in so much that being wearie of Auricular Confession, fasting the lent, and vigiles, he grew vehement in his new opinions, and zealous in breaking of them to others; so as that he would be alwaies talking, what a readie way to heauen

4. The miraculous reductiō of his sonne Roper from heresy, by his prayers.

heauen was now found out, no bodie needing to ſue to Saints or mens prayers; but Gods eare was open ſtill to heare, and his mercie readie to forgiue anie ſinner whatſoeuer, when he ſhall call to him by fayth, which was only neceſſarie to ſaluation; and hauing that only, which he aſſured himſelf of, he needed not doubt, but that he was an elect and ſaued ſoule, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to ſinne or fall out of God's fauour. Of this dangerous poiſon of ſecuritie he hauing druncke a full draught, he came on a time to Sir THOMAS to requeſt him, becauſe he was highly in the king's fauour, that he would gett him a licence to preache, what the ſpiritt had taught him; for he was aſſured that God had ſent him to inſtruct the world; not knowing (god wote) anie reaſon of this his miſſion, but only his priuate ſpirit; to whome Sir THOMAS in a ſmiling manner replyed; Is it not ſufficient, ſonne *Rooper*, that we that are your frieds ſhould knowe that you are a foole, but that you would haue your follie proclamed to the world? After this he often diſputed with him

The hot ſpirit of hereſy.

him about matters of religion, yet neuer could he bring him to hearken to anie reason, euerie day seeming more obstinate then other, vntill at length he sayd: in sober sadnesse: I see, sonne, noe disputation will doe thee good; henceforth therefore I will dispute with thee no more; only will I pray for thee, that God will be so fauourable as to touch thy hart; and so committing him to God, they parted. And he earnestly powred out his deuotions before the Diuine mercie for that intent. And beholde my vncle not long after being inspired with the light of grace, beganne to detest his heresies; and, as another *S. Austin* was wholy conuerted; so that euer after he was not only a perfect Catholike, but liued and dyed a stoute and valiant Champion thereof, whose almes in charitable vses, was so great, that it is sayd, that he bestowed euerie yeare to the value of fiue hūdred pounds, especially in his latter daies in which he enioyed an office of great gayne and commoditie; and after his death I haue heard it reported by thē, that were seruants in his house, that whilst his

The great piety and charity of his sayd vncle M. Roper

bodie lay vnburied for three or foure daies there was heard once a day for the ſpace of a quarter of an hower the ſweeteſt muſike that could be imagined, not of anie voices of men, but angelicall harmonie, as a token how gratious that ſoule was to Almightie God, and to the quires of Angells.

5. Another miraculous cure vvrought by prayer vpon his daughter Margaret.

Now this was a more ſpeciall fauour, which God grãted to Sir THOMAS his deuout prayers, then the rayſing of a dead man to life, by how much more the death of the ſoule is of more danger then the death of the bodie, yet it is certaine alſo, that this glorious man begged alſo corporall life for ſome of his deare friends. On a time his daughter *Margaret* wife to this *William Rooper*, fell ſicke of the ſweating ſickneſſe, of which manie dyed at that time; who lying in ſo great extremitie of the diſeaſe, that by no inuentions nor deuiſes that anie cunning phiſiciã could vſe at that time hauing cõtinually about her moſt learned, wiſe, and expert that could be gotten, ſhe could by no meanes be kept from ſleepe; ſo that euerie one

about

about her had iuſt cauſe to deſpaire of her recouerie, giuing her vtterly ouer, her father as he that moſt loued her, being in noe ſmall heauineſſe at laſt ſought for remedie of this her deſperate caſe from God. wherefore going as his cuſtome was, into his new building, there in his Chappell vpon his knees moſt deuoutly euen with manie teares beſought Almightie God, vnto whome nothing was impoſſible, of his goodneſſe, if it were his bleſſed will, that at his meditation he would vouchſafe gratiouſly to graunt this his humble petition; where preſently came into his minde, that a gliſter was the onlie way to helpe her: which whē he tolde the phiſicians, they confeſſed that it was the beſt remedie indeede, much marueling of thēſelues, they had not remembred it; which was immediately miniſtred vnto her ſleeping; for elſe she would neuer haue bene brought to that kinde of medicine. And although whē she awaked throughly, Gods markes (an euident and vndoubted token of death) plainely appeared vpon her, yet she contrarie to all expectation,

was, as it were miraculouſly and by her fathers feruẽt prayer reſtored to perfect health againe; whome if it had pleaſed God at that time to haue taken to his mercie, her father ſolemnely proteſted that he would neuer haue medled with anie worldlie matters after, ſuch was his fatherlie loue and vehement affection vnto this his Iewell, who moſt neerely of all the reſt of his Children expreſſed her fathers vertues, although the meaneſt of all the reſt might haue bene matched with anie other of their age in England, either for learning, excellent qualities or pietie, they hauing bene brought vp euen frõ their infancie with ſuch care and induſtrie, and enioying alwaies moſt vertuous and learned maiſters.

6. Sir Tho. Mores domeſtiqs ſchoole.

So that the ſchoole of Sir THOMAS MORE's children was famous ouer the whole world; for that their witts were rare, their diligence extraordinarie, and their maiſters moſt excellent men, as aboue the reſt Doctour *Clement* an excellent Grecian and phiſician, who was after reader of the phiſicke-lecture in *Oxford*, and

ſett

ſett out manie bookes of learning. After him one *William Gunell* who read after with greate praiſe in *Cambridge*, and beſides theſe one *Drue*, one *Nicolas*, and after all one *Richard Hart*, of whoſe rare learning and induſtrie in this behalfe, lett vs ſee, what may be gathered out of Sir THOMAS his letters vnto them, and firſt to *M.r Gunnell* thus:

I haue receaued, my deare Gunnell, your letters, ſuch as they are wont to be, moſt elegant & full of affection. Your loue towards my children I gather by your letter; their diligence, by their owne; for euerie one of their letters pleaſeth me very much, yet moſt eſpecially I take ioy to heare that my daughter Elizabeth *hath shewed as greate modeſtie in her mother's abſence, as anie one could doe, if she had bene in preſence; lett her knowe that that thing liked me better, then all the epiſtles beſides; for as I eſteeme learning, which is ioyned with vertue more then all the threaſures of kings; ſo what doth the fame of being a great ſchollar bring vs, if it be ſeuered from vertue other then a notorious and famous*

Modeſty the ornament of vvemen.

infamie, especially in a woman, whome men will be readie the more willingly to assayle for their learning, because it is a rare matter, and argueth a reproche to the sluggishnesse of a man, who will not stick to lay the fault of their naturall malice upon the qualitie of learning supposing all their owne unskillfullnesse by comparing it with the vices of those that are learned, shalbe accounted for vertue: but if anie woman on the contrarie parte (as I hope and wishe by your instruction and teaching all mine will doe) shall ioyne manie vertues of the minde with a little skill of learning, I shall accounte this more happinesse, then if they were able to attaine to Crœsus's *wealth ioyned with the beautie of fayre* Helene; *not because they were to gett great fame thereby, although that inseparably followeth all vertue, as a shadowe doth the bodie, but for that they should obtaine by this the true reward of wisedome, which can neuer be taken away as wealth may, nor will fade, as beautie doth, because it dependeth of truth and iustice, and not of the blasts of mens mouthes, then which nothing is more*

Learning to be desired for vse, not for praise.

is more foolish, nothing more pernicious; for as it is the dutie of a good man to eschew infamie, so it is not only the propertie of a proude man, but also of a wretched and ridiculous man to frame their actions only for praise; for that mans minde must needes be full of vnquietnesse, that alwaies wauers for feare of other mens iudgements betweene ioye and sadenesse. But amongst other the notable benefitts, which learning bestoweth vpon men, I accounte this one of the most profitable, that in getting of learning we looke not for praise, to be accounted learned men, but only to vse it in all occasions, which the best of all other learned men, I meane the philosophers those true modemtours of mens actios haue deliuered vnto vs from hand to hand, although some of them haue abused their sciences, aymimg only to be accounted excellent men by the people. Thus haue I spoken, my Gunnell, *somewhat the more of the not coueting of vaine glorie, in regarde of those wordes in your letter, whereby you iudge that the high spiritt of my daughter* Margarett's *witt is not to be deiected, wherein I am of the same*

opi-

In what cõsisteth deiectiõ of spirit.

opinion that you are, but I thinke (as I doubt not but you are of the same minde) that he doth deiect his generous witt, whosoeuer accustometh himself to admire vaine and base obiects, and he mysseth well his spiritts, that embraceth vertue and true good, they are base minded indeede, that esteeme the shadowe of good things (which most men greedily snatch at, for want of discretiõ to iudge true good from apparent) rather then the truth it self. And therefore seing I holde this the best way for them to walke in, I haue not only requested you, my deare Gunnell, whome of yourself I knowe would haue donne it out of the intire affection you beare vnto them; neither haue I desired my wife alone, whome her mother lie pietie by me often and manie waies tryed doth

What ornamẽt Sir Tho. More required in his children.

stirre them vp thereto, but also all other my frieds I haue intreated manie times to perswade all my children to this, that auoyding all the gulphes and downefalls of pride, they walke through the pleasant meadowes of modestie, that they neuer be enamoured of the glistering hue of golde and siluer, nor lament for the want thereof, which by

error

errour they admire in others, that they thinke no better of themselues for all their costlie trimmings, nor anie meaner for the want of them; not to lessen their beautie by neglecting it, which they haue by nature, nor to make it anie more by vnseemelie art, to thinke vertue their chiefe happinesse, learning and good qualities the next, of which those are especially to be learned, which will auayle them most, that is to say, pietie towards Gods, Charitie towards all men, modestie, and Christian humilitie in themselues, by which they shall reape from God the reward of an innocent life, by certaine confidence thereof they shall not neede to feare death, and in the meane while enioying true alacritie, they shall neither be puffed vp with the vaine praises of men, nor dieected by anie slander of disgrace; these I esteeme the true and solide fruits of learning; which as they happen not, I confesse, to all that are learned, so those may easily attaine them, who beginne to studie with this intent; neither is there anie difference in harueſt time, whether it was man or woman, that sowed first the corne;

A woman may attaine to learning as well as a man.

for both of them beare name of a reasonable creature equally, whose nature reason only doth distinguish from bruite beastes, and therefore I do not see why learning in like manner may not equally agree with both sexes; for by it, reason is cultiuated, and (as a fielde) sowed with wholesome precepts, it bringeth forth excellent fruit. But if the soyle of womans bruine be of its owne nature bad, and apter to beare fearne then corne (by which saying manie doe terrifye women from learning) I am of opinion therefore that a woman's witt is the more diligently by good instructions and learning to be manured, to the ende, the defect of nature may be redressed by industrie. Of which minde were also manie wise and holie ancient Fathers, as, to omitt others, S. Hierome *and* S. Augustine, *who not only exhorted manie noble matrones and honourable virgins to the getting of learning, but also to further them therein, they diligently expounded vnto them manie hard places of Scriptures; yea wrote manie letters vnto tender maydes, full of so greate learning, that scarcely our olde and*

greatest

greateſt Profeſſours of Diuinitie can well reade them, much leſſe be able to vnderſtande them perfectly; which holie Saints workes you will endeauour, my learned Gunnell, of your courteſie, that my daughters may learne, whereby they may chiefly knowe, what ende they ought to haue in their learning, to place the fruits of their labours in God, & a true Conſcience; by which it will be eaſily brought to paſſe, that beinge at peace within themſelues, they ſhall neither be moued with praiſe of flatterers, nor the nipping follies of vnlearned ſcoffers: but me thinkes I heare you replye, that though theſe my precepts be true; yet are they too ſtrong and hard for the tender age of my yong wenches to hearken too: For what man, be he neuer ſo aged or expert in anie ſcience, is ſo conſtant or ſtayed, that he is not a little ſtirred vp with the tickeling of glorie? And for my parte, I eſteeme that the harder it is to ſhake from vs this plague of pride, ſo much the more ought euerie one to endeauour to do it from his verie infancie. And I thinke there is no other cauſe, why this almoſt inevitable miſchiefe doth ſticke ſo faſt in

The end to which all learning muſt be directed.

our breasts, but for that it is ingrafted in our tender mindes euen by our nurses, as soone as we are crept out of our shelles; it is fostered by our maisters, it is nourished and perfected by our parents, whilst that no bodie propoundeth anie good thing to children, but they presently bidde them expect praise as the whole reward of vertue; whence it is, that they are so much accustomed to esteeme much of honour and praise, that by seeking to please the most, who are alwaies the worst, they are still ashamed to be good with the fewest. That this plague may the farther be banished from my children, I earnestly desire, that you, my deare Gunnell, *their mother and all their friends, would still sing this song, vnto the, hammer it alwaies in their heads, and inculcate it vnto them vpon all occasions, that vaine glorie is abiect, and to be despised, neither anie thing to be more worthie or excellent, then that humble modestie, which is so much praised by Christ; the which prudent Charitie will so guide and direct, that it will teache vs to desire vertue rather then to vpbrayde others for their vices, and will pra-*

He desireth it may by all meanes be beaten from his children.

procure rather to loue them, who admonish vs of our faults, then hate them, for their holesome counsell. To the obtayning whereof nothing is more auayleable, then to reade vnto them the holesome precepts of the Fathers, whome they knowe not to be angrie with them, and they must needes be vehemently moued with their authorities, because they are venerable for their sanctitie. If therefore you reade anie such thing vnto Margarett *and* Elizabeth, *besides their lessens in* Saluste, *for they are of riper iudgement by reason of their age, then* Iohn *and* Cecilie, *you shall make both me and them euerie day more bound vnto you, moreouer you shall hereby procure my children being deare by nature, after this more deare for learning, but by their increase of good manners most deare vnto me. Farewell. From the Court this Whitsuneeue.*

Another epistle of Sir THOMAS MORE to his Children. Thomas More *to his whole schoole sedeth greetinge: Beholde howe I haue found out a compendious way to salute you all, and make* 7. The delight Sir T. M. had in his childrés learning.
spare of time and paper, which I must needes

haue wasted in saluting euerie one of you particularly by your names; which would be verie superfluous, because you are all so deare vnto me, some in one respect, some in another, that I can omitt none of you vnsaluted. Yet I knowe not, whether there can be anie better motiue, why I should loue you, then because you are schollars, learning seeming to binde me more straytely vnto you, then the neareneſſe of bloud. I reioyce therefore that M.r Drue is returned safe, of whose safetie you knowe I was carefull. If I loued you not exceedingly, I should enuie this your so great happineſſe, to haue had so manie great schollars for your maisters. For I thinke M.r Nicolas is with you also, and that you haue learned of him much astronomie; so that I heare you haue proceeded so farre in this scienc[illegible]at you now knowe not only the pole-starre, or dogg, and such like of the common Constellations, but also, which argueth an absolute and cunning astronomer, in the chiefe planetts themselues: you are able to discerne the sunne from the moone: goe forward therefore with this your newe and admirable skill, by which

They studied Astronomy.

which you do thus climbe vp to the ſtarres, which whilſt you daily admire, in the meane while I admonish you alſo to thinke of this holie faſt of Lent, and lett that excellent and pious ſong of Boethius *ſcund in your eares, whereby you are taught alſo with your mindes to penetrate heauen, leaſt when the bodie is lifted vp on high, the ſoule be driuen downe to the earth with the brute beaſts. Farewell. From the Court this 23th of March.*

Another. Thomas More *to his beſt beloued Children, and to* Margarett Gigs, *whome he numbreth amongſt his owne, ſendeth greeting: The marchant of* Briſtow *brought vnto me your letters, the next day after he had receaued them of you, with the which I was exceedingly delighted. For there can come nothing, yea though it were neuer ſo rude, neuer ſo meanely polished, from this your shoppe, but it procureth me more delight then anie other mens workes, be they neuer ſo eloquent; your writing doth ſo ſtirre vp my affection towards you, but excluding theſe your letters may alſo very well pleaſe me for*

He diſcourſeth pleaſantly.

their

their owne worth, being full of fine witt, and of a pure Latine phrase: therefore none of them all, but ioyed me exceedingly, yet to tell you ingeniously what I thinke, my sonne Iohn's letter pleased me best, both because it was longer then the other, as also for that he seemeth to haue taken more paynes then the rest. For he not only paynteth out the matter decently, and speaketh elegantly, but he playeth also pleasantly with me, and returneth my ieastes vpon me againe very wittily; and this he doth not only pleasantly, but temperately withall, shewing that he is mindefull with whome he ieasteth, to witt, his father, whome he endeauoureth so to delight, that he is also afeared to offende. Hereafter I expect euerie day letters from euerie one of you; neither will I accept of such excuses, as you complaine of, that you had no leasure, or that the Carrier went away suddenly, or that you haue no matter to write; Iohn is not wont to alleage anie such things; nothing can hinder you from writing, but manie things may exhort you thereto. why should you lay anie faulte vpon the

Car-

Carrier, seing you may prouent his coming, and haue them readie made vp, and sealed two daies before anie offer themselues to carrie them. And how can you want matter of writing vnto me, who am delighted to heare eyther of your studies, or of your play: whome you may euen then please exceedingly, when hauing nothing to write of, you write as largely as you can of that nothing, then which nothing is more easie for you to doe, especially being women, and therefore prattlers by nature, and amongst whome daily a great storie riseth of nothing. But this I admonish you to doe, that whether you write of serious matters, or of trifles, you write with diligence and consideration, premeditating of it before; neither will it be amisse, if you first indite it in English, for then it may more easily be translated into Latine, whilst the minde free from inuenting is attetiue to finde apt and eloquent wordes. And although I putt this to your choice, whether you will do so or no: yet I enioyne you by all meanes, that you diligently examine what you haue written, before you write it ouer fayre againe; first considering

He willeth the to write with care and premeditation.

attentiuely the whole sentence, and after examine euerie parte thereof, by which meanes you may easily finde out, if anie solecismes haue escaped you: which being putt out, and your letter written fayre, yet then lett it not also trouble you to examine it ouer againe; for sometimes the same faultes creepe in at the second writing, which you before had blotted out. By this your diligence you will procure, that those your trifles will seeme serious matters. For as nothing is so pleasing but may be made vnsauorie by prating garrulitie; so nothing is by nature so vnpleasant, that by industrie may not be made full of grace and pleasantnesse. Farewell my sweetest Children. From the Court this 3. of September.

Another letter to his daugter Margarett only: Thy letters (dearest Margarett) were gratefull vnto me, which certifyed me of the state of Shaw; yet would they haue bene more gratefull vnto me, if they had tolde me, what your and your brother's studies were, what is read amongst you euerie day, how pleasantly you conferre together, what themes you make, and how

His earnest care of his childrēs good employmēt.

how you passe the day away amongst you in the sweete fruits of learning. And although nothing is written from you, but it is most pleasing vnto me, yet those things are most sugred sweete, which I cannot learne of but by you or your brother. And in the ende: *I pray thee,* Megg, *see that I vnderstande by you, what your studies are. For rather then I would suffer you, my children, to liue idely, I would my self looke vnto you, with the losse of my temporall estate, bidding all other cares and businesses Farewell, amongst which there is nothing more sweete vnto me, then thy self, my deareſt daughter. Farewell.*

It seemeth also by another letter of his, how carefull he was that his children might be learned and diligent, and he prayseth them for it thus: Thomas More *sendeth greeting to his most deare daughters* Margarett, Elizabeth *and* Cecilie, *and to* Margarett Gigs *as deare to him as if she were his owne. I cannot sufficiently expresse, my best beloued wenches, how your eloquent letters haue exceedingly pleased me: and this is not the least cause, that I vnderstande by*

them, you haue not in your iourneys, though you change places often, omitted anie thing of your custome of exercising your selues, either in making of Declamations, composing of verses, or in your Logike exercises; by this I perswade my selfe, that you dearely loue me, because I see you haue so great a care to please me by your diligence in my absence, as to perfourme these things, which you knowe howe gratefull they are vnto me in my presence. And as I finde this your minde and affection so much to delight me, so will I procure that my returne shall be profitable vnto you. And perswade your selues that there is nothing amongst these my troublesome & carefull affaires that recreateth me so much, as when I reade somewhat of your labours, by which I vnderstande those things to be true, which your most louing maister writeth so louingly of you, that vnlesse your owne epistles did shewe euidently vnto me, howe earnest your desire is towards learning, I should haue iudged that he had rather written of affection then according to the truth: but nowe by these that you write, you make him

The care his children had to please him in their studies.

to be

to be believed, and me to imagine those things to be true of your wittie and acute disputations, which he boasteth of you almost above all beliefe; I am therefore maruelous desirous to come home, that we may heare them, and sett our schollar to dispute with you, who is slowe to believe, yea out of all hope or conceipt to finde you able, to be answerable to your master's prayses. But I hope, knowing how steadfast you are in your affections, that you will shortly ouercome your maister, yf not in disputing, at least in not leauing of your strife. Farewell, deare wenches.

Bookes dedicated by learned men to his children.

And thus you may coniecture how learned his daughters were; to whome for this respect *Erasmus* dedicated his Commentarie vpon *Ouide de nuce*. *Lewis Vives* also writeth great commendations of this schoole of Sir THOMAS MORE's in his booke to Q. *Catherine* of *England*. And both *Erasmus* dedicated *Aristotle* in Greeke, and *Simon Grineus*, who although an heretike, yet in respect of his learning had bene kindely vsed by Sir THOMAS MORE, as he writeth himself, did dedicate *Plato*

and other bookes in Greeke vnto my grandfather *Iohn More* as to one that was also very skillfull in that toung. See what *Grineus* speaketh vnto him: *There was a great necessitie, why I should dedicate these bookes of* Proclus *full of maruelous learning, by my paynes sett out, but not without the singular benefitt of your father effected, vnto you, to whome by reason of your fatherlike vertues all the fruite of this benefitt is to redounde, both because you may be an ornamēt vnto them, and they also may doe great good vnto you, whome I knowe to be learned, and for these graue disputacions sufficiently prouided and made fitt, by the continuall conuersation of so worthie a father, and by the companie of your sisters, who are most expert in all kinde of sciences. For what Authour can be more gratefull to those desirous mindes of most goodlie things, such as you and the Muses your sisters are, whome a diuine heate of spirit to the admiration and a newe example of this our age, hath driuen into the sea of learning so farre, and so happily, that they see no learning to be aboue their reache, no*

dispu-

disputations of philosophie aboue their capacitie: And none can better explicate entangled questions, none sifte them more profoundly, nor none conceaue them more easily, then this authour.

Lett vs see another letter to his daughter Margarett only: *Thou aske monye, deare* Megg, *too shamefully & fearefully of your father, who is both desirous to giue it you, and your letter hath deserued it, which I could finde in my hart to recompence, not as* Alexander *did by* Chenlus, *giuing him for euerie verse a Philippine of golde; but if my abilitie were answerable to my will, I would bestowe two Crownes of pure golde for euerie sillable thereof. Here I sende you as much as you requested, being willing to haue sent you more; but that as I am glad to giue, so I am desirous to be asked and fauoned on by my daughters, thee especially, whome vertue and learning hath made most deare vnto me. Wherefore the sooner you haue spent this money well as you are woont to doe, and the sooner you aske me for more, the sooner knowe you will doe your father*

He payes his daughters letters with gold.

father a singuler pleasure. Farewell my most beloued daughter.

8. The learning and piety of his daughter Margaret.

This daughter was likest her father as well in fauour as witt, and proued a most rare woman for learning, sanctitie, and secrecie, and therefore he trusted her with all his secretts. She wrote two Declamations in English, which her father and she turned into Latine so elegantly, as one could hardly iudge, which was the best. She made also a treatise of the Foure Last things, which her father sincerely protested, that it was better then his, and therefore, it may be, neuer finished his. She corrected by her witt a place in *S. Cyprian*, corrupted, as *Pamelian* and *Iohn Coster* testifye, in steede of *nisi vos sinceritatis*, restoring *neruos sinceritatis*. To her *Enasmus* wrote an epistle, as to a woman not only famous for manners, and vertue, but most of all for learning. We haue heretofore made mention of her letter that Cardinal *Poole* so liked, that when he had read it, he would not beleiue it could be anie womans; in answer whereof Sir THOMAS did sende her the letter,

some

some parte whereof we haue seene before; the rest is this, which though there were no other testimonie of her extraordinarie learning, might suffice: *In the meane time*, saith her father, *I thought with myself how true I found that now, which once I remember I spake vnto you in ieaste, when I pitied your hard happe, that men that read your writings, would suspect you to haue had helpe of some other man therein, which would derogate somewhat from the praises due to your workes; seing that you of all others deserue least to haue such a suspition had of you, for that you neuer could abide to be decked with the plumes of other birds. But you, louelie* Megg, *are rather to be praised for this, that seing you cannot hope for condigne praise of your labours, yet for all this you goe forward with this your inuincible courrage, to ioyne with your vertue the knowledge of most excellent sciences: and contenting yourself with your owne pleasure in learning, you neuer hunte after vulgar praises, nor receaue them willingly, though they be offered you. And for your singular*

pietie and loue towards me, you esteeme me and your husband a sufficient and ample theater for you to content you with, who in requitall of this your affection beseech God and our Ladie, with as hartie praiers as possible we can powre out, to giue you an easie and happie childbirth, to encrease your familie with a childe most like yourself, except only in sexe; yet yf it be a wench, that it may be such a one, as would in time recompece by imitation of her mothers learning and vertues, what by the condition of her sexe may be wanting; such a wenche I should preferre before three boyes. Farewell, dearest daughter.

The effect that the B. of excester had of her learning.

But see, I pray you, how a most learned bisshopp in Englād was rauished with her learning and witt, as it appeareth by a letter, which her father wrote vnto her to certifye her thereof; Thomas More *sendeth hartie greeting to his dearest daughter* Margarett: *I will lett passe to tell you, my sweetest daughter, how much your letter delighted me; you may imagine how exceedingly it pleased your father, when you vnderstande what affection the reading of it raysed in*

ſed in a ſtranger. It happened me this euening to ſit with Iohn Lo: Bishopp of Exeter, a learned man, and by all mens iudgement, a moſt ſincere man: As we were talking together, and I taking out of my pocket a paper, which was to the purpoſe we were talking of, I pulled out, by chãce, therewith your letter. The handwriting pleaſing him, he tooke it from me and looked on it; when he perceaued it by the ſalutacio to be a womans, he beganne more greedily to read it, noueltie inuiting him thereunto: but when he had read it, and vnderſtood that it was your writing, which he neuer could haue believed, if I had not ſeriouſly affirmed it; ſuch a letter, I will ſay no more; yet why ſhould not I reporte that which he ſayd vnto me? ſo pure a ſtile, ſo good Latine, ſo eloquent, ſo full of ſweete affections; he was maruelouſly rauished with it; when I perceaued that, I brought forth alſo an Oration of yours, which he reading, and alſo manie of your verſes, he was ſo moued with the matter ſo vnlooked for, that the verie countenance and geſture of the man free from all flatterie and de-

ceipt, bewrayed that his minde was more then his words could vtter, although he vttered many to your greate praise, and forthwith he drew out of his pocket a partegue, the which you shall receaue enclosed herein. I could not possibly shune the taking of it, but he would needes sende it vnto you, as a signe of his deare affectiõ towards you, although by all meanes I endeauoured to giue him againe; which was the cause I shewed him none of your other sisters workes; for I was afeared least I should haue bene thought to haue shewed them of purpose, because he should bestowe the like courtesie vpon them; for it troubled me sore, that I must needes take this of him: but he is so worthie a man, as I haue sayd, that it is a happinesse to please him thus; write carefully vnto him and as eloquently as you are able, to giue him thankes therefore. Farewell; from the Court this 11.th of Septemb. euen almost at midnight.

Some of her writings.

She made an oration to answer Quintilian, defending that rich man, which he accuseth for hauing poysoned a poore mans bees, which contained

vaine venemous flowers in his garden, so eloquent and witty that it may striue with his. She translated *Eusebius* out of Greeke, but it was neuer printed, because *Christopherson* at that time had donne it exactly before. Yet one other letter will I sett downe of Sir THOMAS to this his daughter, which is thus: Thomas More *sendeth greeting to his dearest daughter* Margarett: *There was noe reason, my dearest daughter, why thou shouldst haue differred thy writing vnto me one day longer, for feare that thy letters being so barren, should not be read of me without loathing. For though they had not been most curious, yet in respect of thy sexe, thou mightest haue bene pardoned by mie mā, yea euē a blemish in the childe's face, seemeth often to a father beautifull. But these your letters,* Megg, *were so eloquently polished, that they had nothing in them, not only why they should feare the most indulgent affection of your father* More, *but also they needed not to haue regarded euen* Momus *his censure, though neuer so severe. I greatly thanke.* M. Nicolas *our deare friend (a most expert* Her translation of Eusebius.

Her skill in Astronomy.

man in astronomie) and doe congratulate your happinesse, whome it may fortune within the space of one moneth with a small labour of your owne to learne so manie and such high wonders of that mightie and eternall workeman, which were not found but in manie ages, by watching in so manie colde nights under the open skyes, with much labour and paines, by such excellent and aboue all other mens understanding witts. This which you write, pleaseth me exceedingly, that you had determined with your self to studie philosophie so diligently, that you will hereafter recompence by your diligence, what your negligence hath heretofore lost you. I loue you for this, deare Megg, that whereas I neuer haue found you to be a loyterer (your learning, which is not ordinarie, but in all kinde of sciences most excellent, euidently shewing, how paines fully you haue proceeded therein) yet such is your modestie, that you had rather still accuse your self of negligence, then vainely boaste of diligence, except you meane by this your speach that you will be hereafter so diligent, that your former endeauours, though

though indeede they were great and praise worthie, yet in respect of your future diligence, may be called negligence. If it be so that you meane, (as I doe verily thinke you doe), I imagine nothing can happen to me more fortunate, nathing to you, my deerest daughter, more happie; For as I haue earnestly wished that you might spende the rest of your life in studying phisicke and holie Scriptures, by the which there shall neuer be helpes wanting vnto you, for the ende of mãs life; which is, to endeauour that a sounde minde be in a healthfull bodie, of which studies you haue alreadie layde some foundations, and you shall neuer want matter to builde thereupon; so now I thinke that some of the first yeares of your youth yet flourishing may be very well bestowed in humane learning & the liberall Arts, both because your age may best struggle with those difficulties, and for that it is vncertaine, whether at anie time else we shall haue the cõmoditie of so carefull, so louing, and so learned a maister: to lett passe, that by this kinde of learning our iudgements are either gotten, or certainly much

Why humanity is best studied in our younger yeares.

much helped there by. I could vvishe, deare Megg, that I might talke vvith you a long time about theſe matters, but beholde they vvhich bring in ſupper, interrupt me and call me avvay. My ſupper cannot be ſo ſvveete vnto me, as this my ſpeach vvith you is, if I vvere not to reſpect others more then myſelf. Farevvell, deareſt daughter, & commẽde me kindely to your houſband, my louing ſonne, vvho maketh me reioyce for that he ſtudieth the ſame things you doe; and vvhereas I am vvont alvvaies to counſell you to giue place to your husband, novv on the other ſide I giue you licence to ſtriue to maiſter him in the knovvledge of the ſphere. Farevvell againe & againe. Commende me to all your ſchoole-fellovves, but to your maiſter eſpecially. And hauing vpõ this occaſiõ of ſpeaking of Sir THOMAS his childrẽ, how tẽderly he loued thẽ, how earneſtly he ſought to make thẽ ſchollars, & with their ſchollarshipp to haue thẽ ioyne vertue, made sõewhat a lõger digreſſiõ, thẽ I thought; we will returne, as we had begũne, to ſpeake of the alteratiõ of religiõ in our Coũtrey, & how thereupõ Sir THOMAS MORE fell into trouble. THE

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

SIR THOMAS MORE made Lord high Chauncellor of England.

1. *The excellent charity of Sir Tho. More towvard his neighbours.*
2. *The beginning of King Henries ſeparation from the Churche of God.*
3. *Cardinall Wolſeys diſgrace, dowvnfall, and death.*
4. *Sir Thomas More inſtalled in the office of Lord Chancellour.*
5. *His incompanable behaueour in that high place of honour.*
6. *He refuſeth to allowv of K. Henries diuorcement.*

1. Charity of Sir Tho. More to his neighbours.

WHilst this vnluckie diuorce was so hotely pursued by the king, it happened that my vncle *Rooper* walking with his father along by the Thames side, neare *Chelsey*, amongst other talke Sir THOMAS sayd; now would to our Lord, sonne *Rooper*, that vpon condition three things were established in Christendome, I were putt into a sacke and here presently cast into the Thames. What greate things are those, good Sir, sayd he, that should moue you so to wish? Wouldst thou knowe them, sonne *Rooper*; yea Marry, Sir, with a good will, sayd he, if it would please you. In Faith, sonne, they be these; First, that where the most parte of Christian princes be at mortall warre, they were at an vniuersall peace; secondly, whereas the Church of Christ is at this time sore afflicted with manie errours and heresies, it were settled in a perfect vniformitie of religion: Thirdly, that whereas the matter of the king's marriage is now in question, it were to the glorie of God and quietnesse of all parties

His three wishes for the good of Christendom.

Vnity in peace.

Vnity in religion.

End of the kings controuersie.

ties brought to a good conclusion. Whereby one might well gather, that otherwise this would be a disturbance to a great parte of Christendome. The first he saw in some sorte granted him by his meanes; the other two are this day to be seene, what tragedies they haue raised in *England* and else where.

Thus did he by his words and deedes shew throughout the whole course of his life, that all his thoughts, trauailes and paines were only for the honour of God without respect either of his owne glorie or regarde of any earthlie cō-moditie; For it may be seene by manie things as well deedes as letters how much he contemned the honours which were heaped vpon him daily by his Prince's speciall bountie and fauour towards him, and my vncle *Rooper* testifyeth from his owne mouth in his latter daies, that he professed vnto him, that he neuer asked of the king for himselfe the value of one penny. The like may be sayd of his contempt of riches and worldlie wealth; but a fitter place to speake thereof may be had hereafter. All

He neuer asked anything of the King.

which excellent endowments of his minde proceeded no doubt from the speciall fauour of Almightie God, and the feruent zeale of this his seruat to attaine to perfectiō of all vertues.

Liberality to his parish Churche

He built a Chappell in his parish Church at *Chelsey*, where the parish had all ornaments belonging therevnto abundantly supplyed at his charge, and he bestowed there on much plate, often speaking those wordes: Good men giue it, and badde men take it away.

His mercifull workes to his poor neighbours.

He seldome vsed to feaste noble men, but his poore neighbours often, whome he would visite in their houses, and bestowe vpon them his large liberalitie, not groates, but Crownes of golde, yea more then that according to their wants. He hired a house also for manie aged people in *Chelsey*, whome he daily relieued; and it was my aunte *Rooper's* charge to see them want nothing. And when he was a priuate lawyer, he would take no fees of poore folkes, widowes nor pupills.

2. *The beginning of K. Henri*

2. A little before he was preferred to the dignitie of Chancellourshipp, there were questions

stions propounded to manie, whether the king in the case of his first marriage needed haue anie scruple at all; and if he had, what way were best to deliuer him from it. The most parte of his Counsell were of opinion, that there was good cause of scruple, because Q. *Catherine* was married before to Prince *Arthur*, king *Henrie's* elder brother; wherefore she was not to be wife to two brothers; and therefore to ease the king's minde, suite was to be made to the pope and the Sea of *Rome*, where the king hoped by liberall guifts to obtaine what he desired; but in this, as after it appeared, he was farre deceaued.

Separation from the Church.

Scruple of his mariage with Q. Catherin

After this there was a Commission procured from *Rome* for triall and examination of this marriage; in which the Cardinalls *Wolsey* and *Campegius*, were ioyned togeather; who for the determination hereof sate at the Black Fryers at *London*, where a bill was putt in for the annulling of the former matrimonie, alleadging that that marriage was vtterly vnlawfull; but on the other side for proofe that it was

Cõmissioneirs frõ Rome about it.

The dif penſatiō queſtiō. lawfull and good a Diſpenſation was brought forth, which was of verie good force, as touching the power which the Pope had to diſpēce in a law that was neither contrarie to Gods poſitiue law in the olde Teſtament, but rather agreable thereto, nor to the law of Nature, and it was commaunded in *Leuiticus*, that if the brother dyed without iſſue, the next in kindred to him in a manner should be forced to marrie his wife. But there was found an imperfection in the Diſpenſation; yet that ſame was lawfully ſupplyed by a publike Inſtrument or brieſe found in the Threaſure of *Spaine*, which was ſent immediately to the Commiſſioners in *England*, and ſo should iudgement haue bene giuen by the Pope accordingly, that the firſt marriage ſtoode in force, had not king *Henry* vpon intelligence thereof, before the iudgement was pronounced, appealed to the next Generall Councell. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*; hence came the deadly enmitie betweene the king and the Pope; hence proceeded that bitterneſſe of king *Henry*, that he commaunded none

And ſupplied by a new cōfirmatiō.

K. Henry appeals to a generall councel: and falls from the Pope.

should

should appeale to *Rome*; nor none should so much as goe thither; no Bishops nor Spirituall men should haue anie Bulles of authoritie frō thence; all spirituall Iurisdiction beganne now, neuer before thought of, to be inuested from God immediately vpon the Imperiall Crowne of *England*; but this not all at once: yea he grew afterwards vnto such height of malice, that he caused the name of Pope to be raized out of euerie booke that could be found either printed or written. He caused *S. Thomas of Canterburie* to be attaynted of high treason after he had bene three hūdred yeares accoūted a blessed Martyr of the whole Church; yea so acknowledged by king *Henry* the second who was cause of his death; but this king most strangely cast his sacred bones out of his renowned shreene, after numbers of miracles, and caused them to be burnt. This was the strange passe king *Henry* was brought vnto doting on *Anne Bullen*, though, God knowes, she had no qualities wherefore he should so doate on her, as appeared euidently when for fowle matters he after

His iniurie to S. Thomas of Canterburies body.

Q. Anne Bolls incontinēcy.

after a short time cutt of her head, and proclaymed himself in open Parlement to be a Cuckolde; which no doubt he neuer had bene, if he had kept himself to his first vertuous wife Q. *Catherine*; but all these things happened a good while after, and manie other extreame violences and ensuing miseries, as we doe see and feele as yet.

Cardinall Wolseys disgrace & downfall.

3. Whilst those things were a doing, as is before sayd, about the king's diuorce, and nothing yet brought to anie conclusion, the king sent *Tunstall* bishopp of *Durham* & Sir THOMAS MORE Embassadours to *Cambray* to treate of a peace betweene him and the French king, and *Charles* the Emperour: in which iourney Sir THOMAS so worthily behaued himself that he procured in our league with the sayd Princes farre more benefitts to our realme then at that time was thought possible by the king and all his Councell; insomuch that his Maiestie caused it afterwards openly to be declared to the people, when he was made Chancellour, how much all *England* was bound to Sir

Sir Tho. Mores embassage for peace, & happy successe therin.

THOMAS

THOMAS MORE. And now at his returne the king againe was verie earneſt with him to haue him agree to his ſecond marriage; for which cauſe alſo it is thought, and Cardinall *Poole* teſtifyeth it in a letter, he made him the rather Lo: Chancellour; telling him, that though the diſpenſation was good in reſpect of the lawes of the Church, yet now it was found out to haue bene againſt the lawe of nature, in which no diſpenſatiõ could be had, as Doctour *Stokeley*, (whome for that quirke foũd out he had lately preferred to the Bishopricke of *London*,) was able to inſtruct him, with whome he willed Sir THOMAS to conferre in that point. But for all the conferences he could haue with him, Sir THOMAS could no way induce himſelfe to change his former opinion therein. Yet the Bishopp relating to the king their Conference, ſo fauourably reported of Sir THOMAS MORE's carriage therein, that he ſayd, he found him verie toward and deſirous to finde out good matter, wherein he might truly ſerue his grace to his contentment, but yet he could not.

Bishop Stokeleies quirk in Q. Catharins marriage

His conference with Sir Thomas about it.

Stokesly vndermines the Cardinall,

This Bishopp hauing bene lately by the Cardinall in the Starre-Chamber openly disgraced and awarded to the Fleete, not brooking this contumelie, sought by all meanes to wreake his anger against the Cardinall: and picked a quarrell at him to the king, because he beganne to waxe colde in the diuorce. For so it was, that Wolsey was sent ouer into France to treate a marriage betweene king *Henry* and the king of France's sister: and finding their willing acceptance, it was likelie to come to that issue, which he hoped for. Yet God so wrought to crosse him, that this verie inuention, which he had first plotted to reuenge himself on *Charles* the Emperour, this same was the pitt, wherein he fell, and whereby all his dignitie, creditt, and wealth was taken away; so that of him it may well be sayd: *incidit in foueam quam fecit*. For whilst he was contriuing for the king a marriage in *France*, the king himself little to his knowledge had knitt the knott in *England* with a meane woman in respect of a prince, a priuate knight's daughter, and of meaner con-

Forbackwardnes in the kings diuorce: & forwardnes for a frenche matche.

conditions then anie gentlewoman of worth.

Wherefore *Wolsey* returning, and finding his embassage crossed, beganne to repine at the king for disgracing him so much, and now wished that he had neuer beganne to putt such scruples into *Longlands* head; which *Stokeley* soone finding, and himself hauing deuised a new knott in a rush, to bring the king in better liking of himself for his forwardnesse, and into more dislike of the Cardinall so wrought with his Maiestie, that he sent for the Cardinal back, being now on his way gone to be enstalled in the archbishoprick of *Yorke*: so that by *Sir William Kinston* he was arreasted of high treason, hauing confiscated all his goods before, so that he that had bene one of the greatest prelates of Christendome, had not now one dish to be serued in at the table; who yf he had loued God halfe so well as he adored his prince, could neuer haue come to such miserie; for that he dyed either with sorrowe or poisō shortly after.

The Cardinal discontented:

Arrested and depriued of all honours & riches.

But the king caused in his place of Chancellourshipp Sir THOMAS MORE to be placed, that

Sir Tho. More elected L. Chauncelor.

with that bayte, saith Card: *Poole*, corrupted, he might the more easily be brought to the bente of the king's bowe; who behaued himself so excellently in the place, as one may say that none euer before him did better, although he was the first lay man that euer possessed that roome, as Card: *Poole* noteth; yea *VVolsey* himself hearing that Sir THOMAS MORE should haue it, though he was very loath to leese it himselfe, and withall bore Sir THOMAS no more good will, then needes he must, yet professed he to manie, that he thought none in *England* more worthie of it then Sir THOMAS; such was his fame, that none could enuie it, though it were neuer so vnaccustomed a case.

Only worthy of the place, in Cardinal Wolseys iudgement.

4. The manner how Sir THOMAS MORE was installed in this high Office, how the king did extraordinarily grace him therein, and how modestly notwithstanding he accepted thereof, is very remarkable. For being lead betweene the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* through VVestminister hall vp to the Starre chamber, and there honourably placed in the high

4. The honourable ceremony with which he was installed.

high Iudgement-seate of Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was the chiefe peere and Lo: Threasurer of *England*, by the king's order spoke thus vnto the people, there with great applause and ioy gathered togeather:

The king's Ma.tie (which I pray God may proue happie and fortunate to the whole realme of England) *hath nised to the most high dignitie of Chancellourshipp Sir* THOMAS MORE, *a man for his extraordinarie worth and sufficiencie well knowen to himself and the whole realme, for no other cause or earthlie respect, but for that he hath plainely perceaued all the guifts of nature and grace to be heaped vpon him, which either the people could desire, or himself wish for the discharge of so great an office. For the admirable wisedome, integritie & innocencie, ioyned with most pleasant facilitie of witt, that this man is endewed with all, haue bene sufficiently knowen to all English-men from his youth, and for these manie yeares also to the king's Maiestie himself. This hath the king abundantly found in manie and weighsie affayres, which he hath happily dispat-*

The Duke of Norfolks oratiō in behalf of Sir Tho. More.

Of his worthinesse for so great a place.

dispatched both at home and abroad; in diuerse offices, which he hath born; in most honourable embassages, which he hath vndergone, & in his dailie counsell and aduises vpon all other occasiõs. He hath perceaued no man in his realme to be more wise in delibering, more sincere in opening to him what he thought, nor more eloquent to adorne the matter, which he vttered. Wherefore becauſe he ſaw in him ſuch excellent endowments, and that of his eſpeciall care he hath a particular deſire that his kingdome and people might be gouerned with all equitie and iuſtice, integritie and wiſedome: he of his owne moſt gratious diſpoſition hath created this ſingular man Lo: Chancellour; that by his laudable performance of this office, his people may enioy peace and iuſtice, and honour alſo and fame may redounde to the whole kingdome. It may perhaps ſeeme to manie a ſtrange and vnuſuall matter, that this dignitie ſhould be beſtowed vpon a lay man, none of the Nobilitie, and one that hath wife and children; becauſe heretofore none but ſingular learned prelates, or men of greateſt Nobilitie,

The firſt lay man, that euer was made Lord Chancellour.

bilitie, haue possessed this place; but what is wanting in these respects, the admirable vertues, the matchlesse guifts of witt & wisedome of this man, doth most plentifully recompence the same. For the king's Maiestie hath not regarded howw great, but what a man he was; he hath not cast his eyes vpon the nobilitie of his bloud, but on the worth of his person; he hath respected his sufficiencie, not his profession; finally he would shewv by this his choyce, that he hath some rare subiects amongst the rowe of gentlemen and lay men, who deserue to manage the highest offices of the realme, vvhich Bishops and Noble men thinke they only can deserue. The rarer therefore it vvas, so much both himself held it to be the more excellet, & to his people he thought it would be the more gratefull. VVherefore receaue this your Chancellour with ioyfull acclamations, at vvhose hands you may expect all happinesse and content.

Good reasons why that ould custom was altered.

Sir THOMAS MORE according to his wonted modestie was somewhat abashed at this the Dukes speach, in that it sounded so much to his praise;

Sir Tho. Mores modest and discreet reply.

praise; but recollecting himself as that place and time would giue him leaue, he answered in this sorte: *Although, most noble Duke, and you right Hon.ble Lords, and worshipfull gentlemen, I knowe all these things, which the kings Maiestie, it seemeth, hath bene pleased should be spoken of me at this time and place, and your Grace hath with most eloquent wordes thus amplifyed, are as farre from me, as I could wish with all my hart they were in me for the better performance of so great a charge. And although this your speach hath caused in me greater feare then I can well expresse in words: yet this incõparable fauour of my dread Soueraigne, by which he sheweth how well, yea how highly he conceaueth of my weakenesse, hauing commanded that my meanesse should be so greatly commended, cannot be but most acceptable vnto me: and I cannot choose but giue your most noble Grace exceeding thankes, that what his Maiestie hath willed you briefly to vtter, you of the abundance of your loue vnto me, haue in a large and eloquent Oration dilated. As for myself I can*

He acknowledgeth his owne vnworthinesse,

The Dukes loue,

And the kings fauour, and bounty.

can take it no otherwise, but that his Maiesties incomparable favour towards me, the good will and incredible propension of his Royall minde (wherewith he hath these manie yeares favoured me continually) hath alone without anie desert of mine at all caused both this my new honour, and these your undeserued commendations of me. For who am I, or what is the house of my father, that the kings Highnesse should heape upon me by such a perpetuall streame of affection these so high honours? I am farre lesse then anie the meanest of his benefitts bestowed on me; how can I then thinke my self worthie or fitt for this so peereless dignitie? I haue be drawen by force, as the king's Maiestie often professeth, to his Highnesse's service, to be a Courtier; but to take this dignitie upon me, is most of all against my will; yet such is his Highnesses benignitie, such is his bountie, that he highly esteemeth the small dutifulnesse of his meanest subiects; and seeketh still magnificently to recompence his seruants; not only such as deserue well, but euen such as haue but a desire to deserue well at his hands. In

Which he esteems beyond his deserts.

which number I haue alwaies wished myself to be reckoned, because I cannot challenge myself to be one of the former; which being so, you may all perceaue with me how great a burden is layde vpon my backe, in that I must striue in some sorte with my diligence and dutie to corresponde with his royall beneuolence, and to be answerable to that great expectation, which he and you seeme to haue of me; wherefore those so high praises are by so much more grieuous vnto me, by how much I knowe the greater charge I haue to render myself worthie of, and the fewer meanes I haue to make them good. This weight is hardly sutable to my weake shoulders; this honour is not correspondent to my poore deserts; it is a burden, not a glorie, a care, not a dignitie; the one therefore I must beare as manfully as I can, and discharge the other with as much dexteritie as I shalbe able. The earnest desire which I haue alwaies had and doe now acknowledge myself to haue, to satisfye by all meanes I can possible the most ample benefitts of his Highnesse, will greatly excite and ayde me to the diligent per-

Al which encrease in him a full purpose to discharge well so great a charge.

mance

mance of all; which I trust also I shall be more able to doe, if I finde all your goods wills and wishes both fauourable vnto me, and conformable to his royall munificence: because my serious endeauours to doe well ioyned with your fauourable acceptance will easily procure that whatsoeuer is performed by me, though it be in it self but small, yet will it seeme great and praise worthie; For those things are alwaies atchieued happily, which are accepted willingly, and those succeede fortunately, which are receaued by others courteously. As you therefore doe hope for great matters and the best at my hands, so though I dare not promise anie such yet do I promise truly and affectionately to performe the best I shall be able.

And desireth fauorable interpretation of his endeuours.

When Sir THOMAS had spoken these wordes, turning his face to the high Iudgement seate of the Chancerie, he proceeded in this manner: But when I looke vpon this seate, whē I thinke how greate and what kinde of personages haue possessed this place before me, whē I call to minde, who he was, that sate in it last of all, a man of

A wise ponderation of his predecessour Cardinals example.

what singular wisedome, of what notable experience, what a prosperous and fauourable fortune he had for a great space, and how at the last he had a most grieuous fall, and dyed inglorious: I haue cause enough by my predecessours example to thinke honour but slipperie, and this dignitie not so gratefull to me, as it may seeme to others; for both is it a hard matter to follow with like paces or praises a man of such admirable witt, prudence, authoritie and splendour, to whome I may seeme but as the lighting of a candle, when the sunne is downe; and also the sudden and vnexpected fall of so great a man as he was doth terribly putt me in minde that this honour ought not to please me too much, nor the lustre of this glistering seate dazel mine eyes. Wherefore I ascende this seate as a place full of labour and danger, voyde of all solide and true honour; the which by how much the higher it is, by so much greater fall I am to feare, as well in respect of the verie nature of the thing it selfe, as because I am warned by this late fearefull example. And truly I might euen now at this verie first entrãce stumble,

The danger of highe honours.

stumble, yea faynte, but that his maiestie's most singular fauour towards me, and all your good wills, which your ioyfull countenance doth testifye in this most honourable assemblie, doth somewhat recreate and refresh me; otherwise this seate would be no more pleasing to me, then that sword was to Damocles, *which hung ouer his head, tyed only by a hayre of a horse's tale, when he had store of delicate fare before him, seated in the chayre of state of* Denis *the Tirant of* Sicilie; *this therefore shalbe alwaies fresh in my minde, this will I haue still before mine eies, that this seate will be honourable, famous and full of glorie vnto me, if I shall with care and diligence, fidelitie and wisedome endeauour to doe my dutie, and shall perswade myself, that the enioying thereof may chance to be but short & vncertaine; the one whereof my labour ought to perfourme; the other, my predecessour's example may easily teache me. All which being so, you may easily perceaue, what great pleasure I take in this high dignitie, or in this most noble Dukes praising of me.*

A warning to vse them well.

Commō ioy of S. Thomas his promotion.

All the world tooke notice now of Sir THOMAS's dignitie, whereof *Erasmus* writeth to *Iohn Fabius* Bishopp of *Vienna* thus: Concerning the new increase of honour lately happened to THOMAS MORE, I should easily make you beleiue it, if I should shew you the letters of manie famous men reioycing with much alacritie, and congratulating the king, the realme, himself, and also me for MORE's honour, in being made Lo: Chancellour of *England*.

5. The behauiour of S. Thomas in the dignity of L. Chancellour.

5. Now it was a comfortable thing for anie man to beholde, how two great roomes of *Westminster* hall were taken vp, one with the sonne, the other with the father, which hath as yet neuer bene heard of before or since, the sonne to be Lo: Chancellour, and the father *Sir Iohn More* to be one of the ancientest Iudges of the king's Bench, if not the eldest of all; for now he was neare 90. yeare olde. Yea what a gratefull spectacle was it, to see the sonne aske the father blessing euerie day vpon his knees, before he sate in his owne seate? a thing expressing rare humilitie, exēplar obediēce, & submissiue pietie.

Towards his father the auncientest iudge of the realme.

Shortly

Shortly began nedgery one to finde a great alteration betweene the intolerable pride of the precedent Chancellour *VVolsey*, who would scarce looke or speake to anie, and into whose onlie presence none could be admitted, vnlesse his fingars were tipped with golde; and on the other side this Chancelour, the poorer and the meaner the suppliant was, the more affably he would speake vnto him, the more attentiuely he would hearken to his cause and with speedie tryall dispatche him; for which purpose he vsed commonly euerie afternoone to sitt in his open hall, so that if anie person whatsoeuer had anie sute vnto him, he might the more boldely come vnto him, and there open to him his complaints. Towards all suitours, especially the poorer sort.

VVhich his open manner of extraordinarie fauour to all, my vncle *Dauncy*, his sonne in law seemed merrily on a time to finde faulte with, saying, that when Card: *VVolsey* was Chancellour, not only diuerse of his inner chāber, but such as were but his doorekeepers, got great gaines by him; and sith I haue married No accesse to bribery.

ried one of your daughters, I might of reason looke for some commoditie; but you are so readie to doe for euerie poore man, and keepe no doores shutt, that I can finde no gaines at all, which is to mee a great discouragement, whereas else some for friendshipp, some for profitt, some for kindred would gladly vse my furtherance to bring thē to your presence; & now yff I should take anie thing of them, I should doe them great wrōg, because they may freely proferre their causes to you themselues; which thing though it is in you, Sir, very commendable, yet to mee I finde it nothing profitable. which word Sir THOMAS answered thus; I do not mislike, sonne, that your conscience is so scrupulous; but there be manie other waies, wherein I may both doe yourself good and pleasure your friends; for sometimes by my worde I may stand your friend in steede, some time I may helpe him greately by my letter, if he hath a Cause depending before me, I may heare him before another man at your intreatie; yf his Cause be not all the

Means how great men may do fauours in iustice

all the best, I may moue the parties to fall to some reasonable ende by arbitrament: but this one thing I assure thee on my fayth, that if the parties will at my hands call for iustice and equitie, thē, although it were my father, whome I reuerence dearely, that stoode on the one side, and the diuell, whome I hate extreamely, were on the other side, his cause being iust, the diuel of me should haue his right. Notable integrity

What saying was this to expresse the loue to Iustice, which he alwaies bore, and his deedes shewed it so, that no malitious toung euer could picke the least quarrell against him for the least touch of iniustice, as shalbe more at large spoken of, when euerie light matter came to be sifted narrowly, after he fell from the king's fauour; and that he would for no respect of alliance digresse one iotte from equitie, well appeared by another sonne in law of his my vncle *Heron*; for when he hauing a Cause in the Chancerie before Sir THOMAS, and presuming to much on his fauour, because he euer shewed himself the most affectionate father to Euen against his owne kinred.

his children that was in the world; by reason whereof he would by no meanes be perswaded to agree to anie indifferent order, at last Sir THOMAS made a flatt decree against him; wherein he liuely expressed the practise of his former saying.

Long delayes in law, the misery of poor clients: remedied by Sir Thomas.

Now at his coming to this Office, he found the Court of Chancerie pestered and clogged with manie and tedious Causes, some hauing hung there almost twentie yeares. Wherefore to preuent the like, which was a great miserie for poore suiters, first he caused *M.r Crooke* chiefe of the Six Clarkes, to make a Dockett containing the whole number of all Iniunctions, as either in his time had already past or at that time depēded in anie of the king's Courts at *Westminster*. Then bidding all the Iudges to dinner, hein the presence of them all, shewed sufficient reason why he had made so manie Iniunctions, that they all confessed that they themselues in the like case would haue donne no lesse. Then he promised them besides, that if they themselues, to whome the reformation of

the

the rigour of the law appertained would vpon reasonable considerations in their owne discretion (as he thought in conscience they were bound) mitigate and reforme the rigour of the lawe, there should then from him no Iniunctions be granted; to which when they refused to condescende, then, sayd he, for as much as yourselues, my Lords, driue me to this necessitie, you cannot hereafter blame me, if I seeke to relieue the poore people's iniuries. After this, he sayd to his sonne *Rooper* secretly, I perceaue, sonne, why they like not this; for they thinke that they may by a verdict of a Iurie cast of all scruple from themselues vpon the poore Iurie, which they account their chiefe defence. Wherefore I am constrayned to abide the aduenture of their blame.

A pleasant tale of a table.

He tooke great paines to heare causes at home, as is sayd, arbitrating matters for both the parties good; & lastly he tooke order with all the atturneys of his Courte, that there should no *sub pœnas* goe out, whereof in generall he should not haue notice of the matter, with

one of their hands vnto the Bill; and if it did beare a sufficient cause of complaint, then would he sett his hand to it, to haue it goe forward; if not, he would vtterly quash it, and denye a *sub pœna*. And when on a time one of the atturneyes, whose name was M.r Tubbe had brought vnto Sir THOMAS the summe of the cause of his Client, requested his hand vnto it, Sir THOMAS reading it, and finding it a matter friuolous, he added in steede of his owne hand thereto; these wordes: *A tale* of a *Tubbe* for which the atturney going away as he thought with Sir THOMAS his name vnto it, found when his Client read it, to be only a ieaste.

6. King Hēry desire Sir Thomas to allow his diuorce.

6. Shortly after his entrie into the Chancellourshipp, the king againe importuned him to weighe and consider his great matter, thinking that now he had so bound him vnto him, that he could not haue gainesayde him; but he valüing more the quiett of his conscience, and the iustice of the cause, then a nie prince's fauour in the world, fell downe vpon his knees before

before his Maiestie and humbly besought him to stande his gracious Soueraigne, as he had euer found him since his first entrance into his princelie seruice; adding that there was nothing in the world had bene so grieuous to his hart, as to thinke that he was not able (as he gladly would with the losse of one of his chiefest limmes) to finde anie thing in that matter, whereby with integritie of his conscience he might serue his Grace to his contentment. And he alwaies bore in minde those most godlie wordes, that his Highnesse spoke vnto him, when he first admitted him into his royall seruice, the most vertuous lesson that euer prince gaue vnto his seruant, whereby he willed him. First to looke to God, and after God, to him; as, in good fayth, he sayd, he did, and would; or else might his Maiestie accounte him for his most vnworthie vassall; whereto the king courteously answered, that if he could not therein with his conscience serue him, he was contented to accept his seruice otherwaies; and vsing the aduise of other his learned Councell, whose con-

Sir Thomas noble and discreet refusall,

Accepted for the time, by the king.

sciences could well agree thereto, he would notwithstanding continue his accustomed fauour towards him, and neuer with that matter molest his conscience after: but how well he performed his promise, may be seene by the discourse following. And indeede there is no prince, be he bent to neuer so much wickednesse, but shall finde counsellours enough that will alwaies seeke to please his humours; but to finde anie one that will not agree to what that king is bent, to haue wrongfully brought to passe, these are verie rare, and therefore most to be admired.

THE

THE SEAVENTH CHAPTER.

A VIEW OF SOME especiall and most remarkeable virtues of SIR .T. MORE in middest of his Honours.

1. *Incredible powerty in so eminent a personage: signe of vnmacheable integrity.*
2. *Admirable zeale in cause of catholike religion against all heresie.*
3. *Cheerfull myrthe in all occasions ioined whith gnuity.*
4. *Solid deuotion, and reuerence in diuine seruice.*
5. *Patience & resignation in temporall losses.*
6. *Contempt of worldly honour declared in deposing of the dignity of Chauncellour.*

7. *A*

7. *A reſolution to liue poorly, neuer like ſeen in a great ſtates man.*
8. *With what deep ponderation he reſigned vp that high honour.*

1. The death of Sir Iohn More.

1. ABout this time it happened *Sir Iohn More* to fall ſick of a ſurfeit of grapes, as I haue heard; who though he was verie olde, yet had he till then bene more luſtie, then his yeares afforded him. In his ſickneſſe, his ſonne, whome now he had ſeene Lo: Chancellour, often came & viſited him, vſing manie comfortable words vnto him; and at his departure out of this miſerable world, with teares taking him about the necke, moſt louingly kiſſed and embraced him, commending his ſoule deuoutly to the merciefull hands of his Creatour and redeemer; ſo with a heauie hart departed from him, who left him now bettered with a verie ſmall encreaſe of eſtate, becauſe,

Sir Thomas neuer enioyed his fathers inheritance.

becauſe his chiefe houſe and lands at *Gubbins* in *Hartfordshire* his laſt wife enioyed, who outliued Sir THOMAS ſome ten yeares, and therefore Sir THOMAS neuer enioyed almoſt anie inheritance from his father; inſomuch that he affirmed in his apologie, which he wrote about this time, that all his reuenues and penſions, except that which had bene granted by letters patents from the king of his mere liberalitie, to witt, the mannours of *Ducklington*, *Frinckford*, and *Barlyparke* in *Oxfordshire*, all the reſt, he ſaith, amount not to aboue Fiftie pound by the yeare, as thoſe which he had from his father or by his wife, or by his owne purchaſe. Surely a rare ſaying, that one of the king's Counſell, who had gone through manie offices for almoſt twentie yeares ſhould not be able to purchaſe one hundred pound land; when as now a priuate Atturney by his owne practiſe wil leaue his childe fiue hundred pound land of inheritance. Therefore in ſo great an officer this sheweth an admirable contempt of worldlie commodities, a bountiefull hand to ſpende liberally

Rare pouerty in a L. high Chancellour.

and abundantly vpon the poore, his owne kinſfolke and familie, the Church and vpon hoſpitallitie. And as for readie monie, he had not in all the world, when he gaue vp his office, aboue one hundred pound either in golde or ſiluer; which is as ſtrange as the former. All which doth demonſtrate his vprightneſſe, his munificence, his ſingular perfections and his diuine wiſedome. For what could millions of golde haue ſtoode him in ſteede, but to cumber his conſcience, when he loſt all from himſelfe and his poſteritie by reaſon of the malice of a ſpitefull queene, who purſued him and his to death, to their vtter temporall ouerthrowe, shewing perfectly that ſaying *non eſt malitia ſuper malitia mulieris*. For the king could not by his fall promiſe himſelfe anie great increaſe of goods, as he had gotten by the Cardinall's ouerthrow.

Yet could it not ſtop. Q. Annes malice againſt him.

2. Now the Bishops of *England* at this time conſidering with themſelues, that for all his prince's fauour he was neither a rich man, nor in yearelie reuenues aduanced as his worthineſſe deſerued, & weighing with themſelues what

2. His admirable zeal in cauſe of catholike religion.

what paines and trauailes he had taken in writing manie learned bookes for the defence of the true Catholike faith againſt manie hereſies ſecretely ſowen abroad in the realme, to whoſe paſtorall charge the reformation of them principally appertained, there being not one Clergie man, that had matched his writings either in the greatneſſe of the volumes, the ſoundneſſe of the arguments, to conuince the aduerſarie, or the paines taken to reduce them. They called therefore a Conuocation togeather, whether moſt of the Clergie came, where they concluded to offer vnto him the ſumme of foure thouſand pound at the leaſt, thereby to recompence in parte his trauailes there in ſuſtayned. To the paymēt whereof euerie Bishop, Abbott, and the reſt of the Clergie, after the rate of their abilities were liberall contributours, hoping that this ſumme would contente him. Wherefore his deare friends *Tunſtall* Bishopp of *Durham* and *Clarke* B. of *Bath*, and as is ſuppoſed *Veyſey* of *Exeter* came to Sir THOMAS and ſpoke thus vnto him; how that they

A liberal reward profered him nobly by the Bishops of England.

held themselues bound to consider him for his paynes taken and bestowed to discharge them in Gods quarrell; and albeit they could not according to his deserts requite him so worthily as they willingly would, but must referre that only to the goodnesse of God: yet for a small parte of recompence, in respect of his estate so vnequall to his worth they presented vnto him that summe in the name of the whole Conuocation, desiring him to take it in good parte. And though this were a bountiefull deede in respect of those prelates; yet little knew they Sir THOMAS his magnificent disposition, who answered them in this manner: That like as it was no small comfort vnto him, that so wise and learned men accepted so well of his simple doings, for which he neuer purposed to receaue anie reward, but at the hands of God alone, to whome the thankes thereof was chiefely to be ascribed; so gaue he most humble thankes vnto their Lordshipps all, for their so bountiefull & friendlie consideration; but he purposed not to receaue anie thing from them. And when they

As nobly and magnanimously refused by him, only for Gods sake.

with

with great importunitie preſſed ſtill vpon him, that few would haue ſuppoſed he could haue refuſed it, they could not for all that faſten anie whitt vpon him. Then they beſought him that he would be content they might beſtowe it vpon his wife and children. Not ſo my Lords, quoth he; I had rather ſee it caſt all into the Thames then I or anie of mine ſhould haue there of one pennie. For though your offer, my Lords, be indeede very honourable, yet ſett I ſo much by my pleaſure and ſo little by my profitt, that I would not in good faith for much more monie haue loſt the reſt of ſo manie nights ſleepe as was ſpent vpon the ſame: and yet for all this I could wish that vpon conditiõ all hereſies were ſuppreſſed, all my workes were burnt, and my labour vtterly loſt. Thus they were fayne to departe, and reſtore to euerie one his owne againe. By which wiſe and vertuous anſwer, euerie one may ſee that all his paines that he tooke, were only in reſpect of Gods honour, and not for either vaine glorie or any earthlie commodite;

The heretiks calumny against him.

Yea he cared not what anie ſayd of him, contening the peoples diſpraiſe as a blaſt of winde. For the heretikes hauing gotten it by the ende, that the Clergie had offered him a great ſumme of monie, and meaſuring other men by their owne couetous humours, reported and wrote in pamphletts that he was bribed by the Clergie to write, whome he anſwered mildely by a flatt deniall, that he was not made richer by one pennie from the Clergie. Yet ſome of thoſe heretikes had ſpent him ſomewhat; and beſides he being *Bigamus*, twice married, could neuer hope for anie ſpirituall promotion.

The water baylife of *London*, who had bene ſometime his ſeruant, hearing (where he had bene at dinner) certaine marchants ſomewhat drunke with this new poiſon, liberally to rayle againſt Sir THOMAS, in that he was ſo bitter againſt *Lutherans*, waxed ſore diſcontented therewith, knowing wel, that he little deſerued anie euill reporte; wherefore he haſtily came to Sir THOMAS and tolde him what he had heard: and were I, Sir, ſayd he, in ſuch fauour and au-

True glorie to be hated by heretikes.

tho-

thoritie with my prince, as you are, such men should not be suffered so villanously & falsely to misreporte and slander me. Wherefore you may doe well, *Sir*, to call them before you, and to their shame to punish them for their vndeserued malice. But Sir THOMAS smiling on him sayd: why, M.r Water bailife, would you haue me punish those, by whome I reape more benefitt then by all you that are my friends: lett them in Gods name speake as lewdely of me as they list, and shoote neuer so manie boltes at me, as long as they hitt me not, what am I the worse: but if they should once hitt me, then would it not a little grieue me; howbeit I trust by Gods grace and helpe, there shall none of them all be able to touche me. I haue more cause, I assure thee, to pittie them, then to be angrie with them. Loe, to what heighth of perfection had he now attained, that he was neither alluted by hopefull gaines, nor deterred one iotte from his dutie by euill toungs or slaunders, alwaies carrying one and the same alacritie in all his crosses and aduersities!

Perfect patience always ioined with true perfectiō

3. When

3. Cheerfull mirth.

3. When that one of the house of the *Manners* by the king's fauour was come lately to a noble dignitie, who had bene before a great friend of Sir THOMAS; but perceauing that the world beganne somewhat to frowne vpon him for that he was not so forward as other men to egge the king to the diuorce, and being desirous to picke a quarrell against him sayd vnto him: my Lord, *Honores mutant Mores*. Sir THOMAS readily after his merrie fashiō replyed: It is so indeede, my Lord, but *Mores* signifyeth in English, *manners* & not *more*; he was therewith so putt out of Countenance, that he wist not what to say.

An vnmānerly reprehēsiō mannerly returnd on the reprehender.

A bold debtour, prettily told his owne.

In like manner he wittily twitted another man, whome he had lent monie vnto; of whome he asking his due, bad him remember that he should die, God knoweth how soone, and then he should haue little vse of monie, adding the sentence in latine to please Sir THOMAS the more *Memento morieris*; whereto readily Sir THOMAS sayd: what say you *Sir*, me thinkes you putt yourself in minde of your dutie herein

saying

saying *Memẽto Mori æris*, remember *More's* monie. Thus was he continually in his discourses full of wittie Ieasts, that though his countenãce was alwaies graue, yet none could conuerse with him, but he would make them laugh exceedingly; tempering all serious matters with some wittie deuise or other.

It happened on a time that a beggars little dog, which she had lost was presented for a Iewell to my Ladie *More*, and shee had kept it some sennight very carefully; but at last the beggar had notice, where her dogg was, and presently she came to complaine to Sir THOMAS, as he was sitting in his hall, that his Ladie with held her dogg from her; presently my Ladie was sent for, and the dogg brought with her; which Sir THOMAS taking in his hands, caused his wife, because she was the worthier person, to stande at the vpper ende of his hall, and the beggar at the nether ende, and sayd, that he sate there to doe euerie one Iustice: he bad each of them call the dogg; which when they did, the dog went presently to the beggar,

A mery arbitrement between his Lady, & a beggar.

forsaking my Ladie. When he saw this, he bad my Ladie be contented, for it was none of hers; yet she repyning at the sentence of my Lo: Chancellour, agreed with the beggar, and gaue her a piece of golde, which would well haue bought three dogs, & so all parties were agreed; euerie one smiling to see his manner of enquiring out the truth.

A pleasant ceasure of a witlesse writing.

A certaine friend of his had taken great paines about a booke, which he would haue sett out, thinking well of his owne witt, which no other would praise. and because he would haue Sir THOMAS to ouer see it, before it were printed, he brought it to him to viewe; who perusing it, and finding no matter therein worth the printe, sayd with a graue countenance: yf it were in verse, it were more worth: vpon which wordes he went and turned it into verse, and after brought it againe to Sir THOMAS; who looking thereon, sayde soberly: yea marry, now it is somewhat; for now it is rime; before it was neither rime nor reason.

And indeede whatsoeuer ieast he brought forth,

forth, he neuer laughed at anie himselfe, but spoke alwaies so sadly that few could see by his looke, whether he spoke in earnest or in ieaste. As talking with the messenger in his Dispute of his Dialogues, by an occasion they happened to speake of a dogs turde; and at that verie instant one of his men came to tell him, that dinner was readie, to whome he sayd, looke that there be better meate prouided for vs then that; who presently went forth and tolde my ladie, that his Lo: would haue better meate prouided for his dinner; which sore troubled all the house, till at lenght the cause of mistaking being knowen they all fell a laughing.

A mery mistaking.

4. And although he neuer left his mirth in outward apparance, yet still did he vse the like mortifications which he was wont; yea he exercised actes of humilitie that he made most worldlie men to wonder at him. On the sunnedaies euen when he was Lord Chancellour, he wore a surplice, and soung with the singers at the high Masse and matins in his parish church of *Chelsey*; which the Duke of Norfolke on a

4. His earnest deuotion in the seruice of God.

He vsed to sing in his surplice, in his parishe churche.

time finding, sayd *God bodie, God bodie*, my Lo: Chancelour a parish Clarke: you disgrace the king, and your office. Nay, sayd Sir THOMAS smilingly: your Grace may not thinke I dishonour my prince in my dutifulnesse to his Lord and ours; hauing in his minde that saying of *Dauid* in the like case dancing before the Arke of God, when his wife *Michol* laughed at him *Vilior fiam in oculis meis*: I will still thinke meanely of myselfe, whatsoeuer others shall thinke of me. He often would also in publike processions carrie the crosse before the rest, thinking himself happie, if he could anie way shew loue and readinesse in almightie Gods seruice; and when manie counselled him in the long processions in Rogation weeke to vse a horse for hie dignitie and age, he would answer: it beseemed not the seruant to follow his maister prauncing on cockhorse, his maister going on foote. He neuer vndertooke anie businesse of importance, but he prepared himself first by Confession and receauing the blessed Sacrament deuoutely, trusting more of the grace

To carry the crosse in procession, on foote.

Cõfessed & communicated before any importãt businesse.

grace of God deriued to vs by these holie Sacraments, then he did to his owne witt, iudgement and practise; yet euerie of them was in him extraordinarie, so that he liued a most worthie life in all the course of his actions: neuer changed with anie prosperitie, nor dismayde with anie aduersitie.

5. As when his barnes of Corne & hay were burnt, he neuer altered his countenance, or shewed the least signe of sorrowe, only saying: *Fiat voluntas Dei*; he hath bestowed much more vpon vs, and therefore may he take away what he pleaseth: besides he wrote a most patient letter to my Ladie, which is thus: M.ris Alice, *I commende me vnto you hauing heard by my sonne* Heron, *that ours & some of our neighbour's barnes with all the corne in them are burnt; although we may be sorrowfull for the losse of so much good corne, abstracting from Gods holie disposition: yet seing that it hath bene his diuine pleasure to suffer it, we ought not only patiently but also willingly to receaue his gentle rodd. God gaue vs all that we haue; and seing he*

5. *Patience in temporall losse.*

An excellent resignatiō to the prouidence of God.

hath taken parte of it away by this chance, his blessed will be donne: lett vs neuer murmure or grudge for this accident, but take it in good parte, and giue God thankes as well for aduersitie as for prosperitie. Perhapps this losse may be a greater benefitt of God then the gayne of so much would haue bene; for he knoweth what is most expedient for vs. Be therefore of good courage I pray thee, and taking all our familie with you, goe to the Church and giue God thankes as well for these things which he hath giuen vs, as for that he hath taken away, and for all that which he hath left vs, which he can easily encrease, when he seeth it fitteſt for vs; and if he pleaseth to take more from vs, his blessed will be fullfilled; lett it be diligently enquired out, what our neighbours haue lost, and desire them not to be sadde for anie thing, for I will not see anie of them endamaged by anie mischance of my house, although I should thereby not leaue myself so much as one spoone. I pray thee bee chearefull with all my children and familie. Also take counsell of our friends, how Corne is to be prouided for

More care to supply his neighbours losses, then his owne

for that which is needefull for you, and for seede corne this next yeare, if perhaps it be fitt that we sowe anie fielde ourselues: but whether we do so or no; I do not thinke it expedient, presently to giue ouer all care of husbandrie and lett out our farme to others, vntill we haue better and at more leasure considered of it; yet if we haue more workemen in our house, then we haue neede of, such may be dismissed, if they can be cõmodiously placed with other maisters; but I will not suffer anie to be sent away to runne at randon without a place to dwell in. At my returne to the king, I see things go so, as it is likelie I shall stay with him a good while; yet because of this misfortune, perhaps I shall gett leaue to come and see you some time this next weeke, when as we will cõferre more at leasure about these our housholde affaires. Farewell, from the Court. At Woodstock 13. Sept. 1539. But marke how God rewarded this his patience: for it was in October next that he was made Lo: Chancellour, by which office he might easily haue purchased manie faire houses, if his minde had aymed at worldlie riches,

Godly care of his poor seruants.

God rewardeth true resignation euen in this world.

ches, and not rather thirsted after heauenlie rewards. Some haue not stucke to say that if Sir THOMAS had bene so happie as to haue dyed of his naturall death about this time he had bene a very fortunate man, liuing and dying in all mens fauour in the highest iudgements of the world, and prosperous also to his posteritie; for he had left them a fayre and great inheritance, especially by the king's gracious guift. But in my minde they are all carnally wise that affirme this, and no way haue tasted of heauenlie wisedome For the last Scene of this Tragedie is the best and not to be wished to haue bene omitted for all the land king *Henry* enioyed, though you adde the abbeylands and all, after which now his fingars endes beganne to itche: For that Card. *Wolsey* had shewed already a president thereof, by getting leaue of the Pope, to dissolue certaine small Abbyes for the building and maintenance of that great College of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, which for that cause, as I thinke, is *S. Peter's* worke, and lieth still vnfinished.

Vanity of iudgement of worldlings.

6. Though

6. Though in all his life time Sir THOMAS had shewed liuelie examples of manie excellent vertues, as pietie, zeale of God's honour, wisedome, Iustice, liberalitie, contempt of the world, riches, yea what not? yet his most heroicall vertues towards his ende he hath expressed more liuely and exactly, as his magnanimitie, cõtempt of honours, of wife, children, possessions, life it selfe, and whatsoeuer can be of vs desired, and in steede thereof hath chosen disgraces, extreame aduersities, imprisonment, losse of dignities, goods and inheritance, and hath taken vp his Crosse and followed Christ in sheding of his bloud to his honour: *no champion is crowned till he hath gotten the victorie*. And beholde he most gloriously triumpheth ouer the flesh by forsaking his life and leauing it; the world, by despising it, and the diuell by resisting manfully all his temptations.

6. *S. Thomas resigned vp his office of L. Chancellour.*

The neerer his end, the more replenished with the loue of God.

When Sir THOMAS had behaued himselfe in his office of the Chãcelour-shipp for the space of two yeare and a halfe so wisely that none

A notable record: that no cause was left vndecyded in the Chãcery.

could mende his doings, so vprightly that none could take exception against him or his iust proceedings, and so dexterously that neuer anie man did before or since that which he did. For he had taken such order for the dispatching of all mens Causes, that on a time sitting as Iudge there, and hauing finished one cause, he called for the next to be heard; whereto was answered that there was not one Cause more depending. This he caused to be sett downe vpon recorde; whereas at this day there are little fewer then a thousand, if not more; whereof some lye in the suddes by the space of diuerse yeares.

When (as I say) Sir THOMAS had deserued high commendations of euerie one, and now perceaued that the king was fully determined to proceede to the vnfortunate marriage of *Anne Bullen*, and for that cause a Parlement was called, wherein Sir THOMAS being the chiefe Officer of the higher house, was with diuerse Bishops and Noble men commaunded by the king, to goe downe to the lower house to shew

A parlement called for Q Annes marriage

to shew vnto them, both what manie vniuersities beyond the seas, & *Oxford* and *Cambridge* at home had donne in that behalfe, with their publike zeales testifying the same. All which matters at the king's commaunde he opened to the Lower house, not shewing his minde therein; yet doubting (as good cause he had) leaſt further attemps should after follow, which contrarie to his conscience by reason of his office, he was likelie to be putt vnto; he made great suite to the Duke of Norfolke his singular good friēd, that he would be a meanes to the king that he might be discharged, with his Maiesties fauour of the Chancellourshipp; wherein for certaine infirmities of his bodie he pretended himself vnable anie longer to serue. The Duke being often thereto by Sir THOMAS sollicited, at length obtayned of the king, when at a time cōuenient by his Maiestie appointed Sir THOMAS repaired to the king to yeelde vp vnto him the great Seale of *England*; which his Maiestie courteously receaued at his hands with greate praise & thankes for his worthie seruice in that

Sir Tho. More sues to depose his office.

The king graciously accepteth his desire.

in that office, at which time it pleased his highnesse to say thus vnto him: That for the seruice he had hitherto done vnto him, in anie suite that he should hereafter haue vnto him, that either should concerne Sir THOMAS his honour (that very word it liked his Highnesse to vse vnto him) or that should appertaine to his profitt, he should not fayle to finde him a good & gracious Lord. But how true these wordes proued, lett others be Iudges, when the king not only not bestowed vpon him the value of one pennie, but tooke from him and his posteritie all that euer he had, either giuen by himselfe, or left him by his father, or purchased by himselfe.

How merely he insinuated the matter to his wife.

The next morning being holieday, few yet knowing what had bene donne, he went to *Chelsey* church with my Ladie and his children and familie: & after masse was donne, because it was a custome that one of my Lord's gentlemen, should then goe to my Ladie's pewe, and tell her, my Lord was gone before, then did he himselfe come, & making vnto her a courtesie, with his cappe in his hād, & sayd: may it please your

your Ladieshipp to come forth now my Lo: is gone. whereto she imagining it to be but one of his ieastes, as he vsed manie vnto her, he sadly affirmed vnto her, that it was true; for he had resigned vp his office, and the king had graciously accepted it. This was the way that he thought fittest to breake this matter vnto his wife; who yet was full sorie to heare it; & it may be she spoke then those wordes, which I haue rehearsed before: *Tilli vally*; what will you doe M.r More: will you sitt and make goslings in the ashes: it is better to rule then to be ruled. But to requite her braue minde, he beganne to finde fault with her dressing, for he saw a greate fault about her; for which she chiding her daughters that none of them could espye it, they still saying they could finde none; Sir Thomas merrily sayd: Doe you not perceaue that your mothers nose standeth somewhat awry? at which wordes she stept away from him in a rage. All which he did to make her thinke the lesse of her decay of honour, which else would haue troubled her sore.

A pleasant ieast, to diuert her from sorow.

7. Prouident disposition of his household after his resignement.

7. Shortly after this he called all his seruāts togeather, manie of whome were Gentlemen of good sorte and fashion, & tolde them, that he could not maintaine them as he gladly would, and therefore demaunded them, what course of life they would betake themselues to; and if they purposed to serue any Noble man, he would vndertake to place them to their contentment, who with eyes full of teares affirmed, that they had rather serue him for nothing, thē most men for a great stipende: but when to this he would not agree, he settled them all in places most fitt for their turnes, either with Bishops or Noblemen. His bardge he gaue to my Lo: *Audley*, who succeeded him in his office, and with it his eight watermen; His foole *Patison* he gaue to the Lo: Mayor of *London*, vpon this condition, that he should euerie yeare wayte vpon him that should haue that office. After this he called before him all his Children, and asking their aduise, how he might now (in the decay of his abilitie so empaired by the surrender of his office, that he could not hereafter as he

Of his seruants, all well recommended.

Of his children living with him.

as he had donne and gladly would) beare out the whole charges of them all himselfe (for all his Children with their children had hither to dwelt with him) for that they could not be able to continue togeather as he could wish they should. When he saw them all silent and none to shew him their opinion therein; then will I, sayd he, shew vnto you my minde: I haue bene brought vp at *Oxford*, at an Inne of Chācerie, at *Lincolnes-Inne*, and in the king's Courte, from the lowest degree to the highest; and yet haue I in yearelie reuenues at this present little left me aboue a hundred pound by the yeare: so that now if we looke to liue togeather, we must be content to be Contributours togeather. But my consell is, that we fall not to the lowest fare first; we will not therefore descend to *Oxford*-fare, nor to the fare of New-Inne; but we will beginne with *Lincolnes* Inne dyett, where manie right worshippfull men of great accounte and good yeares doe liue full well; which if we finde ourselues after the first yeare not able to maintayne, then will we the next yeare

An incōparable resolutiō after so great an honour, to beare cheerfully so low an estate.

yeare come downe to *Oxford* fare, where manie great learned and ancient Fathers & Doctours are continually conuersant; which if our purses stretch not to maintaine neither, then may we after with bag and wallett go a begging togeather, hoping that for pittie some good folkes will giue vs their charitie, and at euerie mans doore to sing a *Salue regina*; whereby wee shall still keepe companie and be merrie togeather. O worthie resolution! see how he expresseth his loue towards his Children, but more towards God, taking patiently whatsoeuer might befall him. And he that prouideth for the worst, will the better be prepared to endure lesser Crosses. But what an admirable thing is this, that whereas he was by the king taken into his Maiestie's seruice from a verie worshipfull liuing, as I haue sayd, foure hundred pounds by the yeare, to deale in the greatest and weightiest Causes that concerned his Highnesse and the realme, he had spent with painefull cares, trauells & troubles as well beyond the seas, as with in this kingdome, in effect the whole substance of his life;

Honourable pouerty of so great a personage.

life; yet with all the gayne he gott thereby (being neuer himselfe a wastefull spender) he was not now able after the resignement of his offices, to finde for himself and those that necessarily belonged vnto him, sufficient meate, drinke, fewell, apparrell and such needefull charges; all the lands, which he euer purchased being, as my vncle *Rooper* well knew, not aboue the value of twentie markes by the yeare, and after his debts payde, he had not of my vncle's owne knowledge (his Chayne excepted) in golde and siluer left him the worth of one hundred pounds. Wherefore his Children went to their owne liuings, all but my vncle *Rooper* & my aunte, who liued in the house next vnto him.

8. And how really he had desired himselfe to resigne vp his place of Chancellourshipp, partely for the aboue mentioned consideratiō, and partely also for his owne content & quiett enioying of himself, may well appeare in that he so much liked and highly commended the like deede in *William Warrham* that worthie

8. *How earnestly and considerately he disposed his affaires.*

Archbishopp of *Canterburie* immediately before Card. *Wolsey*; as by this letter vnto him is to beseene: *I haue alwaies esteemed your most reuerend Fatherhood happie in your courses, not only when you executed with great renowne the office of Chancellourshipp, but also more happie now, when being ridde of that great care you haue betaken yourself to a most wished quiettnesse; the better to liue to yourself, and to serue God more easily; such a quietnesse I say that is not only more pleasing then all those troublesome businesses, but also more honourable farre in my iudgement, then all those honours which you then enioyed. For manie men, and amongst those some wicked men also may oftentimes be vsed to great offices: but when you had that high Office of Chancellourshipp, which, as all others of the like kinde are, is of that nature, that the more authoritie and power one hath whilst he doth beare it, the more slaunders he is subiect vnto hauing left it, to resigne such an office voluntarily (which yet your Fatherhood could scarce gett leaue to doe with all the meanes you could vse) none but a modest*

An excellent letter to Archbishop Warrha to such a purpose.

Great offices dangerously vndertaken, and as dangerous to be giuen ouer.

modest minded man would, nor anie but a guiltlesse man darte, doe. Wherefore manie, and amongst them myself doe applaude and admire this your acte, which proceeded from a minde I knowe not whether more modest in that you would willingly forsake so magnificent a place, or more heroicall in that you could contemne it, or more innocent in that you feared not to depose your self from it, but surely most excellent and prudent it was to do so; for which your rare deede I cannot vtter vnto you how I reioyce for your sake, and how much I congratulate you for it, seing your Fatherhood to enioye so honourable a fame, and to haue obtayned so rare a glorie, by sequestring your selfe farre from all worldlie businesses, from all tumult of Causes, and to bestowe the rest of your daies, with a peaceable conscience for all your life past, in a quiett calmenesse, giuing your selfe wholy to your booke and to true Christian philosophie; which pleasing and contented state of yours, my owne miserie causeth me daily more and more to thinke of; who although I haue no businesses worth the talking of (and yet he

A true valuation of vertuous actions.

S. Thom. Mores humble estimation of himself.

was then one of the Kinges priuie Counsell, Threasurer of the exchecker and employed in manie embassages) *yet because weake forces are easily oppressed with small matters, I am so troubled daily with businesses, that I haue not as much as once leasure to visite your Fatherhood, or to excuse myself therefore by letter, and scarcely was I able to write this vnto you, by which I was to commende this my little booke of* Vtopia *vnto your most reuerende Fatherhood, which an* Antwerpian *friend of mine (loue swaying his iudgement) hath thought fitt to be published, and hath putt it in printe without my priuitie, being rather hudled vp then polished, which I was emboldened to sende to you, though it be vnworthie of your learning, experience and dignitie, relying on your courteous nature, which is wont to confer to the best euerie man's endeauoures, also trusting in your tryed loue towards me, by which I hope, though the worke itself should not like you, that yet for the authors sake you will fauour it. Farewell most honourable prelate.*

He sends his Vtopia to the Archbishop.

A little after this time he wrote thus to *Emsmus:*

Erasmus: I haue a good while expected, if anie man could accuse me of anie thing, since the deposing myself of the Chancellourshipp: and as yet no man hath come forth to complaine of anie my iniustice: either I haue bene so innocent, or so craftie, that my aduersaries must needes suffer me to glorie in the one, if they cannot abide I should do so in the other. Yea this the king's maiestie also as well in priuate discourse often, as also twice in publike hath witnessed, for that (which shamefastnesse will not suffer me to speake of myself) he commaunded the most noble Duke of Norfolke *high Threasurer of* England, *when my succeſſour an excellent man was settled in my place to testifye this to all the assemblie, that he had hardly at my earnest intreatie suffered me to lett the office goe; and not content with that singular fauour in my behalfe he caused the same againe to be spoken of in his owne presence when in the audience of a publike meeting of the Nobilitie and people my succeſſour recited his first speach, as the custome is, in the assemblie of all the Estates, which we call the Parlement.*

His innocence in his office.

Testified in priuat and publik by the King

The chief cauſe of his reſignemẽt, to ſerue God more freely.

He writeth alſo to *Eraſmus* in another letter thus. *That which I haue from a childe vnto this day almoſt continually wished (my moſt deare* Deſiderius) *that being freed from the troubleſome buſineſſes of publike affayres, I might liue ſome while only to God and myſelfe, I haue now by the eſpeciall grace of almightie God, and the fauour of my moſt indulgent prince, obtayned.* And then hauing ſpoken ſomewhat of the weakeneſſe of his health, he goes on, ſaying: *Hauing theſe things often in my head, either that I was to depoſe myſelf of the office, or that I ſhould fayle in the performãce of my dutie therein, ſeing that I could not diſpatche thoſe affaires, but that I muſt endanger my life, and ſo diſpatche myſelf of the office howſoeuer, I purpoſed at the laſt to forgoo the one rather then both. Wherefore becauſe I would as well be carefull of the publike welfare as of mine owne health, I was an earneſt ſuiter to my Prince, and at laſt haue obtayned by his ſingular courteſie, that becauſe I beganne to grow wearie and euen readie to lye vnder my burden I might be ridde of that though a moſt honou-*

As thãkfull to the K. for permitting his reſignement, as for the office it ſelf.

honourable office, whereto his fauour had raised me aboue all my deseruing, as it was wholy without my seeking. I beseeche therefore all the Saints in heauen, that by their intercession almightie God would recompence this most fauourable affection of the King's towards me, and that he would giue me grace to spend the rest of my age in his seruice, profitably and not idely or vainely, affording me health of bodie, that I may be the better able to take paines.

Another cause for his weak health.

And to Cochleus he writeth thus: I haue bene lately sore sicke for some moneths together, not so much to the sight of others, as to mine owne feeling, which infirmitie I can scarce shake of now, when I haue left of my office; for then I could not exercise my function of Chancellour, vnlesse I should endanger my health daily. The care of my recouerie, but especially the due respect I had not to hinder publike iustice, moued me thereto, which I thought I should greatly hinder, if being sicklie I should be constrayned to vndertake businesses as I did when I was stronger. That leasure, which the fauourable benignitie of my most

gracious

gracious prince hath vouchsafed to graunt me, I haue purposed to dedicate wholy to my studie and the honour of God.

Contept of all vainglory.

And as for his contempt of worldlie honour. he writeth thus to *Erasmus: You will not beliue how vnwillingly I vndertake embassages; neither can there be anie thing more displeasing vnto me then the function of an Embassadour*. Of his *Vtopia* he writeth, that he iudged the booke no better worthie, then to lye alwaies hidden in his owne Hand, or else to be consecrated to Vulcan. Of his poetrie he sayth: my epigrammes neuer, pleased my minde, as you well knowe, my *Erasmus*, and if other men had not better liked them, then myself, they should neuer haue bene putt out in printe.

THE

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

THE FIRST OCCASION and beginning of Sir THOMAS his troubles.

1. *How he prepared himself to suffer for Christ, as if he foresaw he should so do.*
2. *A worthie lesson for statesmen giuen by Sir Thomas More, to Cromwell.*
3. *The vnfortunate marriage of Queen Anne Bolain.*
4. *Sir Tho. More refuseth to be present at Queen Annes coronation, the beginning of hers, and the Kings indignation.*
5. *The holy Nunne of Canterbury first occasion of calling Sir Thom. More into Question about Q. Anne.*
6. *Diuers accusations procured against Sir*

T. More, all easily auoided by his innocente life.

7. *His first examination before the Kings deputies.*

8. *His mery hart and braue resolution after this examination.*

1. His vtmoste preparatiō to Martyrdome.

I. He yeare immediately before his troubles, he spent most in spirituall exercises, and in writing of bookes against heretikes: of whome in another letter he speaketh thus: That which I professe in my epitaphe, that I haue bene troublesome to heretikes, I haue donne it with a little ambition; for I so hate these kinde of men, that I would be their forest enemie that possible they could haue, if they will not repente; for I finde them such men, and so to encrease euerie day, that I euen greatly feare the world will be vndonne by them. Yet for all his hatred to them, no heretike suffered

2. Hatred to heresie.

suffered death whilst he was Lo: Chancellour, as *Erasmus* confesseth in the aboue mentioned letter. And indeede it seemeth he would not haue them suffer death, because he writeth to that effect in the lawes of his *Vtopia*. Writing another time to *Cochlie* he sayth: *I would to God, my* Cochlie, *I had such skill in holie Scriptures and Diuinitie, that I were able to write against these plagues of the world fruitfully and with good effect*. *Erasmus* also confesseth that he hated those seditious opinions, with the which the world was then cruelly shaken.

Yet in his tyme no heretik put to death.

He would often talke with his wife and Children of the exceeding ioyes in heauen, and terrible paines of hell, of the liues of holie Martyrs, what torments they endured for the loue of God, of their maruelous patiēce & deathes, which they suffered most willingly rather then they would offende Gods diuine Maiestie; and what an honourable thing it was for the loue of our Lord IESVS-CHRIST to abide imprisonment, losse of goods, lands, and life; adding also what a comfort it would be to him, if he

2. Continuall talk of spirituall matters.

3. Desire to suffer for Christ

might finde that his wife and children would encourage him to dye in a good cause; for it would cause him for ioye thereof merrily to runne to death; besides, as prophecying of his future troubles, he would tell them what miseries might chance to happen vnto him. With which vertuous discourses he had so encouraged them, that when these things after fell vpon him indeede, their miserie seemed the more tolerable vnto them, because Shafts foreseene hurt not so much.

2. A notable lesson for all flatterers, gin to M. Cromwel.

2. Within a while after the resigning of his Office, *M.r Cromewell* (now highly in the King's fauour) came of a message from the king to Sir THOMAS; wherein when they had throughly talked togeather, before his going away Sir THOMAS sayd vnto him: *M.r Cromewell*; you are entred into the seruice of a most noble, wise, and liberall Prince; yf you will followe my poore aduise, you shall in your counsell giuing to his Maiestie euer tell him what he ought to doe, but neuer what he is able to doe; so shall you shew yourself a true and faithfull

full ſeruant, and a right worthie counſellour; for yf a lyon knew his owne ſtrength, hard were it for anie man to rule him. But *Cromewell* neuer learned this leſſon; for he euer gaue that counſell to his prince, which he thought would beſt pleaſe him, and not what was lawfull. For it was he that was the miſchieuous inſtrument of king *Henry* to pull downe all abbies and religious houſes, yea to ruinate religiō vtterly; whereby you may ſee the difference betweene king *Henry* a iuſt prince, whilſt he followed Sir THOMAS MORE's counſell, and after a cruell tyrant and bloudſucker, when he practiſed *Thomas Cromewells* plotts and deuiſes; and alſo we may ſee the iſſue of both theſe counſellours, the one hauing gotten great fame for his iuſt deſerts, the other hauing purchaſed eternall infamie, yea the ouerthrow of himſelf and his familie. For though he attayned to be Lord *Cromewell*, yea afterwards Earle of *Eſſex*, yet his honour and life was ſoone taken away from him moſt iuſtly; and now there is ſcarce anie of his poſteritie left, his lands are all

But not kept by the ſayd M. Crōwell.

Bad Counſellours make bad Princes.

The reward of bad counſel exēplified in Crōwell.

ſolde, yea ſuch was his grandchild's miſerie, that he complayned verie lamentably to ſome gentlemen that he had not bread to putt into his mouth: whereas Sir THOMAS MORE's great grandchildren, though they liue not in great abundance, yet haue they, God be bleſſed, ſufficient to maintaine the eſtate of honeſt Gentlemen; which God of his mercie continue.

Of good Counſellours in S. Tho. More.

3. Now had King *Henry* alſo choſen an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for his owne tooth, promoted by the King, as I haue heard ſay, at a beare-bayting, ſoone after *VVarham's* death; his name was *Thomas Cranmer*, *Anne Bullen's* Chaplaine, a man wholy bent to fullfill the king's pleaſure in all things: By his counſell Q. *Marie* was after diſinherited, and all men were ſworne to the ſucceſſion of Q. *Anne's* iſſue, and to renounce the Pope's authoritie, by acknowledging king *Henry* and his Succeſſours ſupreme head of the church of *England*.

3. The mariage of Q. Anne.

Archbiſ. Crāmers good qualities

VNto this man there was Commiſſion granted vnder the great Seale to determine the marriage, who had a conſcience large enough to

putt

putt in execution, what the king did fancie; & sitting at *S. Albans* about this new match, all things were easily accorded. The king pretended that he could gett no iustice at the Pope's hands; wherefore from thenceforth he sequestred himself and his kingdome from the Sea of *Rome*, marrying Q. *Anne* in priuate; for she was not sollemnely carried through *London*, before she was great with childe of Q. *Elizabeth*.

He concludes the marriage to be lawful

Thus euerie man may see the cause of our brèach from *Rome*, the vnion whereof had cõtinued more then nine hundred yeares, euer since holie Pope *Gregorie* first conuerted vs, & would haue remayned God knowes how long, if that either king *Henry* would not haue cast his liking vpon a wanton damsell, or else the Pope's conscience could haue stretched to dispense with a king to haue two wiues togeather, for the king still would praise his former wife, and tearme her a vertuous woman; only forsooth scruple of cõscience was pretẽded; but he could not see anie cause of scruple in breaking his

The cause of Englãds separation frõ Rome.

his promiſe vpon his appeale; whereby he profeſſed he would ſtay vntill the determination of a generall Counſell, to which from the Pope he had already appealed.

Sir Tho. Mores prophetical gheſſe of the oath of ſupremacy.

As ſoone as Sir THOMAS had heard that king *Henry* was married, he ſayd to my vncle *Roper*: God giue grace, ſonne, that theſe matters within a while be not confirmed with oathes. My vncle then, although he ſaw likelihood thereof, yet fearing alwaies that that would fall out, which Sir THOMAS foretolde, waxed for theſe wordes verie ſore grieued. For he had manie times had experience, that he ſpoke prophetically of diuerſe things.

4. Sir Tho. M. refuſed to be at Q. Annes coronatiõ.

4. Before that Q. *Anne* ſhould be carried in triumphe from the Tower to *Weſtminſter* through the ſtreetes of *London*, with manie pagents & ſumptuous ſhewes, which proued after but a may-game, Sir THOMAS receaued a letter from three greate Bishops, *Durham*, *Winchester*, & *Bath*, requeſting him both to keepe them companie to her Coronation, and alſo to take twentie pounds, which by the bearer

thereof

thereof they had ſent him, to buy him a gowne; the money he thankefully receaued; yet ſtayde he ſtill at home, and at their next meeting, he ſayd merrily thus vnto them. In the letter, my Lords, which you lately ſent me, you requeſted two things of me; the one whereof I was well content to graunt you, that the other I might the bolder denye; and like as the one, becauſe I tooke you for no beggars, and my ſelfe I knew to be no rich man, I thought the rather to fullfill: ſo the other putt me in minde of an Emperour, that ordained a law, that whoſoeuer had committed a certaine offence, which now I remember not, except she were a virgin, should ſuffer death for it; ſuch reuerence had he to virginitie; now it happened that the firſt that offended in that crime, was a virgin; which the Emperour hearing of was in a perplexitie, as he that by ſome example would fayne haue that law putt in execution. Wherevpon when his counſell had ſitt long debating this caſe very ſollemnely, ſuddenly roſe there vp one plaine man of the Counſell, and ſayd: why make you

His conſel and prediction to the Bishops his good frinds.

A notable ſtory wonderfully, and prophetically applied.

„ ſo much adoe, my lords, about ſo ſmall a mat-
„ ter? lett her be deflowred, and after deuoured.
„ So though your Lordshipps haue in the matter
„ of this marriage hitherto kept your ſelues vir-
„ gins, yet take heede, you keepe your virginitie
„ ſtill; for ſome there be, that by procuring your
„ Lordshipps firſt to be preſent at the Coronatiõ,
His purpoſe rather to be deuoured then deflowred. „ next to preache for the ſetting forth thereof, &
„ finally to write bookes in defence of it, are deſi-
„ rous to deflowre you; and when they haue de-
„ flowred you, they will nõt fayle ſoone after to
„ deuoure you. As for myſelf, it lyeth not in my
„ power, but that they may deuoure me, but God
„ being my good Lord, I will prouide ſo that
„ they ſhall neuer deflower me. In which ſpeach
„ he moſt liuely prophecieth both of all the Bi-
„ ſhopp's fall to Schiſme, which after befell, and
„ his owne death, which followed not long
„ after.

Q. Annes hatred to Sir Thomas. Theſe wordes of his it is probable that they came to Q. *Anne's* eares, who as impatient as an *Herodias*, not abiding that anie in the realme ſhould finde fault with her greate catche,

ſhe

she incenſed King *Henrie* more againſt Sir THOMAS MORE then anie other man; And a moneth after this ſollemnitie was not paſt, but she gott him to be ſent priſonner to the Tower, little knowing that her Fortune's wheele would ſoone turne after.

And the kings diſpleasure

When the king perceaued he could not winne Sir THOMAS to the bent of his luſt by no manner of benefitts, then loe the fayre ſunshine day of his fauours became ouercaſt, and there enſued a terrible ſtorme, he now going about by terrours and threates to driue him to conſent vnto it: full little imagining that he was a ſteadie rocke, againſt which noe waues of his rage could preuaile.

Sir Thomas diſpoſeth him ſelf more immediatly to ſuffer death.

But marke how Sir THOMAS prepared himſelf for this valiant combatt; hauing giuen ouer his office of Chancellourshipp: he neuer buſied himſelf in State-matters anie more, but gaue himſelf wholy, during that yeare, which was betweene that and his troubles, not only to confute heretikes, as I haue ſayd, but alſo addicted himſelfe to great acts of mortifica-

tion, prayer and pietie; he leſſened his familie, placing his men in other ſeruices; he ſoulde his housholde ſtuffe to the value of one hundred pounds; he diſpoſed his Children into their owne houſes. As he lay by his wife's ſide, manie nights he ſlept not, forethinking the worſt that could happen vnto him; and by his praiers and teares he ouercame the fraylтie of his flesh, which, as he confeſſeth of himſelf, could not endure a fillipp. He hired a purſiuant to come ſuddenly to his houſe, when he was one time at dinner, and knocking haſtily at his doore, to warne him, the next day to appeare before the Commiſſioners, to arme his familie the better to future calamitie; imitating herein the acte of *S. Iohn* the Almes-giuer, who hired a man to come to him at meales, to tell him, that his graue was not yet finished and that he should take order for it; for the hower of death was vncertaine.

A Christiã ſtratagem.

The firſt occaſiõ of calling into queſtion for Q. Anne.

5. But ſee how the beginning of this trouble grew firſt by occaſion of a certaine Nunne, called *Elizabeth Berton*, dwelling in *Canterburie*;

burie; who for her vertue and holineſſe was not a little ſett by amongſt the common people; vnto whome for that cauſe manie religious perſons, Doctours of Diuinitie, and diuerſe lay men of good worshipp vſed to reſorte; she affirming to them conſtantly, that she had reuelations oftentimes from God, charging her to giue the king warning of his wicked life, and of his abuſing of the sword, and authoritie committed from almightie God vnto him. She moreouer knowing that my Lo: of *Rocheſter* Bishopp *Fisher* was of a ſingular and rare vertuous life, and of admirable learning repaired to *Rocheſter*, and there diſcloſed vnto him all her reuelations, deſiring his aduiſe and counſell therein; which the holie Bishopp perceauing might well ſtande with the lawes of God, and his holie Church, aduiſed her (as she before had warning to doe, and intended it) to goe to the king herſelfe and lett him vnderſtande all the circumſtances thereof; which she perfourmed ſtoutely, telling him all the reuelations, and ſo returned to her cloyſter againe.

The holy Nunne of Kent,

Warned by reuelation to rebuke K. Hēry.

Conferreth her reuelatiōs with B. Fisher

Her talk with Sir Thomas More:

In a short ſpace after he making a iourney to the Nunnes of *Sion*, by meanes of one Fa: *Reynold* a prieſt of that houſe, there she happened to enter into talke with Sir THOMAS MORE concerning ſuch ſecretts as had bene reuealed vnto her, ſome parte thereof touching deepely the matter of the king's ſupremacie, which shortly after this followed, and about the vnlawfullneſſe of the king's marriage. Sir THOMAS though he might well at that time without danger of anie lawe, (of which there was then none) freely talke with her therein, yet notwithſtanding he demeaned himſelf ſo diſcreetely in all his talke with her, that he deſerued no blame, but rather great cõmendations, as it was proued after moſt euidently, when it was ſore layd to his charge.

Warily handled by him.

6. Accuſations procured againſt Sir Thomas.

6. After the diuorce was pronounced, there was ſett out a booke by authoritie from the Councell, which layde downe the reaſons why this diuorce was donne; wherein amongſt other matters it was ſayde that therefore the king would not ſtay for the Pope's ſentence, becauſe

becauſe he had already appealed from him to the next Generall Councell. Strayte after it was rumoured abroad, that Sir THOMAS MORE had anſwered and refuted this booke; of which ſlaunder Sir THOMAS purged himſelfe by a letter to *M.r Cromewell* now Secretarie, and in the king's greate fauour, ſhewing by manie arguments that he neither would nor could confute that booke; which letter is at large in the latter ende of Sir THOMAS his workes. That he impugned the K. mariage.

But for all his purging himſelfe, accuſations ſtill came thicke and threefolde vpon him. For the king by threates and ſifting of his former deedes, would either winne him to his minde, or elſe finde ſome occaſion to except againſt his doings; and had he not bene a man of ſingular integritie, free from all bribes and corruption in all his offices, euerie light matter would haue bene layde now heauie vpon him; as of ſome things he was indeede accuſed, which addes more to his honour and reputation. There was one *Parnell* that grieuouſly complayned againſt Sir THOMAS, becauſe when Quarrels picked againſt his Chancellourſhip.

he was

A supposed bribe pleasantly confused.

he was Lo: Chancellour at the suite of one *M.r Vaughan* his aduersarie, he had made a decree against him; for which at his wife's handes Sir THOMAS had taken a greate guilt Cuppe as a bribe: for the clearing of which accusation Sir THOMAS being called before the bodie of the Councell, the whole matter was in grieuous manner layde to his charge; and when Sir THOMAS confessed the taking thereof saying, that for as much as that Cuppe was giuen him long after the decree for a new yeares guift, he at her importunitie, of courtesie, refused not to take it. Then the Lo: of *Wiltshire Q. Anne's* father, who was the preferrer of the suite, & hated Sir THOMAS both for his religion, and for that he had not consented to his daughter's marriage, with much ioy sayd vnto the other Lords; Loe, did I not tell you, that you should finde the matter true? whereupon Sir THOMAS desired their Honours, as they had courteously heard him tell the one parte of his tale, so they would voutsafe to heare the other with indifferent eares; which being granted he further

decla-

declared vnto them, that albeit at her vrging he had indeede receaued the Cuppe, yet immediately therevpon he cauſed his buttler to fill it vp with wine, and theſein drunke to her; which when he had donne, and she pledged him, then he as freely as her husband beſtowed it vpon him, did euen as willingly beſtowe the ſame vpon her againe for her newyeares-guift; & ſo forced her to receaue it, though much againſt her will; all which herſelfe and manie others there then preſent depoſed before that honourable aſſemblie. Thus his accuſers were putt to shame enough, and he with great honour acquitted.

A courteous refuſall of an honeſt reward.

At another time, on a new-yeares day alſo, there came vnto him M.ris Croaker, a verie rich womã, for whome with no ſmal paines he had made a decree in Chauncerie againſt the Lo: of *Arundel*, (neuer fearing in acte of Iuſtice, anie nobilitie of bloud, or greateneſſe of perſonage) who preſented him with a paire of gloues, and foureſcore Angells in them; he thankefully receaued the gloues of her, but refuſed the monie

ſaying: M.ris ſeeing it were againſt good manners to refuſe a gentlewomans new-yeates-guift, I am content to take your gloues; but as for the lining, I vtterly refuſe it, and ſo cauſed her to take her monie againe.

Another of like nature.

One *M.r Gresham* likewiſe, hauing at the ſame time a Cauſe depending before him in the Chancerie, ſent him for a new-yeares-guift a fayre guilt Cuppe, the faſhiō whereof he very wel liked; wherefore he cauſed the meſſenger to take one of his owne Cuppes, which was in value better, though the faſhion pleaſed him not ſo well, & deliuer it to his maiſter in recōpence of the other; & vnder no other cōdition would he receaue it; wherefore he was fayne ſo to doe.

Manie like vnto thoſe actes did he, which declared how cleane his hands were from taking of anie bribes; which for tedioufneſſe ſake we will omitt; theſe are enough to ſhew anie liuing man, how little he gayned, yea how litle he cared for all tranſitorie wealth, eſteeming vertues of the minde his richeſt threaſure, and *Chriſt* naked on the Croſſe

Croſſe his chiefe deſire, which holie pleaſure of his almightie God before his death fulfilled, when for his loue he loſt all that might be moſt deare vnto worldlie men; ſeparation from wife and children, loſſe of all libertie, and the vtter ouerthrowe of all his goods and eſtate; yet by leeſing theſe things he gayned better; for in ſteede of temporall, he atchieued eternall, in lieu of tranſitorie, he hath purchaſed permanent, in roome of deceiptfull trash, he hath bought to himſelfe a Crowne of glorie: *centuplum accepit, & vitam æternam poſſidet*; he was a true marchant, that by ſelling all he had, bought the precious margarite ſpoken of by Chriſt in S. Matthew; then which there can be imagined nothing more precious, which without doubt he enioyeth for all eternitie.

Sir Tho. More a wiſe marchāt traffiking for heauen.

7. Now there was another parlement called, where in there was a bill putt into the Lower houſe to attaynte the nunne and manie other religious men of high treaſon, and Biſhopp *Fiſher* with Sir THOMAS MORE of miſpriſion of treaſon; which bill the King ſuppoſed would

7. *Sir. T. M. his firſt examination.*

A parlament to attaint true men of treaſō

would be ſo terrible to Sir THOMAS, that it would force him to relente, and condeſcende vnto him; But therein he was much deceaued; for firſt Sir THOMAS ſued, that he might be admitted into the Parlement to make his owne defence perſonally; which the king not liking of, graunted the hearing of this Cauſe to my Lo: of *Canterburie*, the Lo: Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolke* and *M.r Cromwell*; who appointing Sir THOMAS to appeare before them; my vncle *Roper* requeſted his father earneſtly to labour vnto them, that he might be putt out of the parlement bill; who anſwered then that he would; but at his coming thither, he neuer once entreated them for it; when he came into their preſẽce, they entertained him very courteouſly, requeſting him to ſitt downe with them; which in no caſe he would; then the Lo: Chancellour beganne to tell him, how manie waies the king's maieſtie had shewed his loue and fauour towards him, how gladly he would haue had him continue in his office, how deſirous he was to haue heaped ſtill more and more benefitts

The Kings deputies, to examin Sir Tho. M.

The Deputies faires words; to winne Sir Tho.

fittes vpon him, and finally that he could aske no worldlie honour and profitt at his Highneſſe's hands, but that it was probable that he should obtaine it; hoping by theſe words, declaring the king's affection towards him, to ſtirre Sir THOMAS vp to recompence the king with the like, by adding his conſent vnto the king's, which the Parlement, the Bishopps, and manie Vniuerſities had already conſented vnto;

Wherevnto Sir THOMAS mildely made this anſwer, *that there was no man liuing that would with better will doe anie thing, which should be acceptable to his Highneſſe then he, who muſt needes confeſſe his manifolde bountie and liberall guifts plentifully beſtowed vpon him; howbeit he verily hoped that he should neuer haue heard of this matter anie more; conſidering that from the beginning he had ſo plainely and truly declared his minde vnto his maieſtie, which his highneſſe of his benigne clemencie had euer ſeemed like a gracious prince very well to accept of, neuer minding, as he ſayd vnto him, to*

Fairly anſwered with a mild and conſtant refuſall.

molest him anie more therewith; since which time, sayd he, I neuer found anie further matter to moue me to anie change; and if I could, sayd he, there is not one in the whole world, which would haue bene more ioyfull for it.

The Deputies threats.

Many speaches hauing passed to and fro, on both sides, in the ende, when they saw euidently, that they could not remoue him from his former determination by no manner of perswasion, then beganne they more terribly to threaten him saying: the king's maiestie had giuen them in commaunde expressely, yf they could by no gentle meanes winne him, that they should in his name with greate indignatiō charge him, that neuer there was seruant so villanous to his Soueraigne, nor anie subiect so trayterous to his prince, as he; For by his subtile and sinister sleights he had most vnnaturally procuted and prouoked the king to sett forth a booke of the assertion of the Seauen Sacraments, and for the maintenance of the Pope's authoritie, so that he had caused his Maiestie to putt a sword in to the Pope's hands to fight against

Sir. T. M. accused for autour of the kings book for the Pope

againſt himſelfe to his greate dishonour, in all the partes of Chriſtendome.

Now when they had diſplayed all their malice & threates againſt him; my Lord, ſayd Sir THOMAS, *theſe terrours be frights for children, and not for me; but to anſwer that, where with you chiefely burthē me, I belieue the king's Highneſſe of his honour will neuer lay that booke to my charge; for there is none that can in that point ſay more for my diſcharge then himſelfe; who right well knoweth that I neuer was procurer, promotour, nor counſeler of his Maieſtie thereunto; only, after it was finiſhed, by his Grace's appointment, and the conſent of the makers of the ſame, I only ſorted out, and placed in order the principall matters therein; wherein when I had found the Popes authoritie highly aduanced, and with ſtrong arguments mightily defended, I ſayd thus to his Grace: I muſt putt your Highneſſe in remembrance of one thing, and that is this: the Pope, as your Maieſtie well knoweth, is a Prince, as you are, in league with all other Chriſtian princes; it may hereafter fall out, that your*

His conſtant reply, and euident refutatiō.

Wiſe & wary counſel of Sir Tho. to the King.

your Grace and he may varie vpon ſome points of the league, whereupon may growe breache of amitie and warre betweene you both: therefore I thinke it beſt that that place be amended, and his authoritie more ſlenderly touched. Nay, quoth his Grace, that ſhall it not; we are ſo much bound to the Sea of Rome, that we cannot doe to much honour vnto it. Then did I further putt him in minde of our ſtatute of Pręmunire, whereby a good parte of the Pope's authoritie & paſtoral cure was payred away; to which his Maieſtie anſwered, whatſoeuer impediment be to the contrarie, we will ſett forth that authoritie to the vttermoſt; For we haue receaued from that Sea our Crowne Imperiall; which till his Grace with his owne mouth ſo tolde me, I neuer heard before. Which things well conſidered, I truſt when his Maieſtie ſhalbe truly informed thereof, and call to his gracious remembrance my ſayings and doings in that behalfe, his Highneſſe will neuer ſpeake more of it, but will cleare me himſelfe; with which wordes they with great diſpleaſure diſmiſſed him, & parted.

The king acknowledgeth obligatiō of his crowne to Rome.

8. Then

8. Then tooke Sir THOMAS his boate to *Chelsey*; wherein by the way he was verie merrie, and my vncle *Rooper* was not sorrie to see it; hoping that he had gotten himself discharged out of the bill. When he was landed and come home, they walked in his gardin, where my vncle sayd vnto him: I trust, Sir, all is well, because you are so merrie. It is so indeede, sõne, I thanke God. Are you then, Sir, putt out of the parlement Bill? sayd my vncle; by my troth, sonne, I neuer remembred it. Neuer remembred that? sayd he, that toucheth you and vs all so neare? I am verie sorie to heare it. For I trusted all had bene well, when I saw you so merrie. 2. His merry hart after his examination.

Wouldst thou knowe, sonne, why I am so ioyfull? In good Faith I reioyce that I haue giuẽ the diuell a fowle fall; because I haue with those Lords gone so farre, that without great shame I can neuer goe back. This was the cause of his ioye, not the ridding himself of troubles, but the confidence he had in God, that he would giue him strength willingly to suffer anie thing for Christs sake; that he might say with Christ A fall giuen to the diuel.

IESVS: *Desiderio desidenui, &c.* I thirſt greatly to drinke of the Cuppe of Chriſt's paſſion; and with S. Paule: *Cupio diſſolui, & eſſe cum Chriſto.* But theſe ſpeaches though they liked Sir THOMAS well, yet pleaſed they my vncle *Rooper* but a little.

The Kings indignatiō againſt Sir Tho.

Now after the reporte made of this their examinacion of Sir THOMAS to the King, by the Lo: Chauncellour and the reſt, king *Henry* was ſo highly diſpleaſed with Sir THOMAS MORE, that he plainely tolde them, that he was reſolutely determined, that the foreſayd parlement-bill ſhould vndoubtedly proceede againſt them. Yet to this the Lo: Chancellour and the reſt ſayd: that they had perceaued that all the vpper houſe was ſo powerfully bent to heare Sir THOMAS ſpeake in his owne defence, that if he were not put out of the Bill, it would vtterly be ouerthrowen, and haue no force againſt the reſt. Which words although the king heard them ſpeake, yet needes would he haue his owne will therein, adding that he would be perſonally preſent himſelfe at the paſſing of it.

But

But the Lo: *Aud. ley* and the reſt ſeing him ſo vehemently bent vpon it, fell downe vpon their knees, and beſought his Maieſtie not to doe ſo; conſidering that if he in his owne preſence ſhould be confronted and receaue an ouerthrowe, it would not only encourage his ſubiects euer after to contemne him, but alſo redounde to his hishonour for euer throughout all Chriſtendome; and they doubted not in time but to finde ſome other fitter matter againſt him; For in this Caſe of the Nunne, they ſayd, all men accounted him ſo cleare and innocent, that for his behauiour therein euerie one reckoned him rather worthie of praiſe, thē of reproofe. At which words of theirs, the king was contented at their earneſt perſwaſion to condeſcende to their petition; yet was not his diſpleaſure againſt Sir THOMAS anie whitt aſſwaged but much more incenſed.

Prudent and politik aduiſe in ſo bad a cauſe.

On the next morning *M.r Cromewell* meeting my vncle *Rooper* in the parlement houſe, tolde him, that his father was putt out of the bill; which meſſage he ſent preſently to

Proceeding againſt Sir Tho. M. differred.

Chelſey; and when my aunte *Roper* toulde her father thereof; he anſwered: In fayth *Megg*, *quod differtur, non aufertur*, knowing as it were the verie bottome of the King's hart, and all his Counſells, imagining that this was not anie fauour donne vnto him, but that they might finde afitter matter to worke on, as it shortly after proued.

A braue anſwer to a frinds feare.

Within a while after the Duke of *Norfolke* fell into familiar talke with Sir THOMAS, and amongſt other ſpeaches he ſayd vnto him: By the maſſe, M.r *More*, it is perillous ſtriuing with princes; therefore I could wish you as a frēd to encline to the king's pleaſure; for by *God bodie*, M.r. *More*, *Indignatio principis mors eſt.* Is that all my Lord, ſayd Sir THOMAS; in good faith, then there is no more differēce betweene your Grace and me, but that I shall dye to day, and you to morrow. Yf therefore the anger of a prince cauſeth but a temporall death, we haue greater cauſe to feare the eternall death, which the king of heauen can condēne vs vnto, if we ſticke not to diſpleaſe him by pleaſing an earthlie king.

THE

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

THE REFVSALL OF the oath of ſupremacy, cauſe of Sir THOMAS MORES impriſonment in the Tovver.

1. *The oath of ſupremacy and ſucceſsion refuſed by Sir Thomas.*
2. *His impriſonment, firſt in weſtminſter, after in the Tovver.*
3. *A notable diſcourſe betweene him and his daughter Margarit Roper.*
4. *Some other paſſages of his in the time of his durance.*
5. *A pretty dialogue betweene him and his wife the Lady More.*
6. *Maiſter Riche his ſophiſticall caſe put to Sir Thomas More.*

7. *His bookes, and meanes of writing taken from him.*

8. *His great care to giue no occasion of offence to the King.*

1. The oath of supremacy.

1. NOw in this parlement in the yeare 1534. whē as Queen *Elizabeth* had bene borne the September before, and Q. *Anne* had bene proclaimed Queen the 12.th of April before that, and Q. *Catherine* declared the widowe only of prince *Arthur*; there was, I say, at this parlement an oath framed, whereby all English subiects should both renounce the Pope's authoritie and sweare also to the succession of Q. *Anne's* children, accounting the Ladie *Marie* illegitimate; within a moneth or thereabouts after the enacting of this statute, all the Clergie as well Bishops as priests, yet no lay

Sir Tho. M. cited to take it.

lay man but Sir THOMAS MORE, were ſummoned to appeare at *Lambeth*, before the Lo: Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Lo: Chancelour Audley, M.r Secretarie *Cromewell*, the Abbott of *Weſtminſter*, with others appointed Commiſſioners by the King, to tender this oath vnto them.

His preparation before his going.

On the ſame morning that Sir THOMAS was to goe thither, as he was accuſtomed before he tooke anie matter of importance in hand, he went to *Chelſey* church, and there was Confeſſed and receaued at maſſe deuoutly the bleſſed Sacrament; and whereas euer at other times before he parted from his wife and children, they vſed to bring him to his boate, and there kiſſing them bad them Farewell, at this time he ſuffered none of them to follow him forth of his gate, but pulled the wicket after him, and with a heauie hart, as by his countenance appeared, he tooke boate with his ſonne *Rooper*, and their men; in which ſitting ſadly a while, as it were with *Chriſt* in his agonie in the gardin, at the laſt ſodainely he rounded my vncle in

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the gate, and sayd: I thanke our Lord, sonne, the field is wonne. whereto my vncle answered at randon, as not knowing then his meaning; I am very glad thereof. But one may easily knowe, what he meant, and so my vncle afterward perceaued, that the burning loue of God wrought in him so effectually, that it now had conquered all carnall affections; trusting to that saying of our Sauiour: *Beholde and haue confidence; I haue conquered the world.*

His discreet behaueour in that cause.

How wisely he behaued himself at *Lambeth*, may be seene in a letter of his sent after to my aunte *Rooper*, which is sett out in printe in the latter ende of his English Workes, with others his most singular letters, wherein he liuely describeth to his children all his troubles, & sheweth what a heauenlie spiritt he had to endure all for Gods sake, trusting still chiefely to Gods goodnesse not to his owne strength, the effect whereof is this: *After he was called before them, he requested of them to see the oath, which when he had read vnto himselfe he answered, that he neither would finde faulte with*

He refuseth the oath: for conscience sake.

the

the oath, nor with the authors of it, nor would blame the conſcience of anie man that had taken it, but for himſelfe, he could not take it without endangering his ſoule of eternall damnation; which if they doubted of, he would ſweare vnto them, that that was the chiefe cauſe of his refuſall; in which ſecond oath, if they doubted to truſt him, how then could they truſt him in the former? Which he hauing ſayd my Lo: Chancellour replyed, that all there were hartily ſorie, he ſhould make ſuch an anſwer; for they conſtantly affirmed that he was the firſt mā that denyed to take it; which would greatly aggrauate the king's diſpleaſure againſt him; and forthwith they ſhewed him a Catalogue of the Nobilitie and manie others, who had taken it, and had ſubſcribed their names thereunto.

Yet becauſe he would not blame anie man's conſcience therein, he was commaunded to walke into the gardin a while and preſently all the Clergie men, ſome Bishops, manie Doctours, and prieſts were called in, who all tooke it, except Bishop *Fisher*, and one Doctour

All the clergy, but Bishop Fisher and D. Wilſon, did take the oath.

Wilſon, without anie ſcruple, ſtoppe or ſtay; & the vicar of *Croyden*, ſaith Sir THOMAS, called for a cuppe of beere at the butterie barre, *quia erat notus Pontifici*, and he drunke *valde familiariter*.

Vnder what cõditiõs Sir T.M. offered to ſet downe his reaſon of refuſall.

After all theſe had ſoone diſpatched the matter, for which they were ſent for, Sir THOMAS was called in againe, and the names of all that had taken the oath, were shewed him; whereto for himſelfe he anſwered as before; then they often obiected vnto him obſtinacie; becauſe he would neither take it, nor giue anie reaſon, why he refuſed it; to which he replied, that his deniall only would prouoke the King's indignation ſufficiently againſt him, and therefore he was loath anie further to aggrauate his diſpleaſure, shewing what vrgent neceſſitie drew him vnto it; howbeit, if his Maieſtie would teſtifye that his expreſſing the cauſes, wherefore he refuſed it, would not prouoke againſt him his further anger, he would not ſticke to ſett them downe in writing; and if anie man could ſatisfye thoſe reaſons to the content of his conſcience, he would

he would take the oath moſt willingly. Then *Cranmer*, my Lo: archbiſhop vrged him, that ſeing he was not certaine of his conſcience, but that it was a thing certaine, that he muſt obey his Prince, therefore was he to reiect that doubtfull conſcience of his, and ſticke to the latter, which was vndoubted. Yet if this argument were of anie force, then in all controuerſies of religion we may ſoone be reſolued to to follow whatſoeuer anie king commaundeth vs.

Sir T. M offer proceedeth not of vncertainty: but because he was certain his reaſons were vnanſwerable.

And when the Abbott of *Weſtminſter* had ſayd, that he might very well ſuſpect his owne conſcience to be erroneous, becauſe he alone would ſeeme to controle all the wiſedome of the whole realme, who had made and taken it. Thereto Sir THOMAS anſwered; that if he alone ſhould ſtand againſt ſo worthie a kingdome, he had great cauſe to feare his owne conſcience; but if that of his ſide he could produce a farre greater number of learned men as they, he thought himſelfe *not then bound to reforme his conſcience by following the conſent of one king-*

All Chriſtendom of more autority then all england.

dome against the generall receaued opinion of the whole Christian world. When M.r Secretarie seemed greately to pittie him, Sir THOMAS added: yf anie hard thing happened vnto himselfe, he could not preuent it, without he should endanger his owne soule.

The oath of succession.

Then asked they him, whether he would sweare to the succession; to which he answered, that he was willing enough to doe that, if the oath were sett downe in such wordes, as he might safely take it; Thereto my Lord Chancellour sayd: see, M.r Secretarie, he will not sweare to that neither, but vnder a certaine forme of words. No truly, replied Sir THOMAS, except I finde that I may sweare it without danger of periurie, and with a safe conscience.

2. *Sir Tho. Moresim. prisonmēt. First in Westminster.*

2. When he had thus behaued himselfe, he was cōmitted to the custodie of the abbott of *Westminster* for the space of foure daies; during which time the king consulted with his councell, what order were meete to be taken with him. And at the first albeit they were resolued, that, he swearing an oath not to be

knowen,

knowen, whether he had ſworne to the Supremacie or no, or what he thought thereof, he should be diſcharged; yet did *Q. Anne* by her importunate clamours ſo ſore exaſperate the king againſt him, that contrarie to the king's former reſolution (but indeede for the greater honour of God, and his martyr) the king cauſed againe the oath of Supremacie to be miniſtred vnto him; who although againe he made thereto a diſcreete qualifyed anſwer, neuertheleſſe he was forthwith committed to the Tower. when as he went thither, wearing a chaine of golde about his necke, *Sir Richard Winkefield*, who had the charge of his conueyance thither, aduiſed him to ſende home his chaine to his wife or ſome of his children; nay Sir, ſayd he, that I will not; for if I were taken in the fielde by mine enemies, I would they ſhould fare ſomewhat the better for me; rather chooſing to haue it loſt in the Tower, then that king's officers ſhould gett it at home, when he ſhould leeſe all; or elſe eſteeming nothing loſt, but gayned, which was loſt for Chriſt. At his lāding,

Then by Q. Annes importunity, in the Tower.

His willingneſſe to leeſe all for Chriſt.

M.r Lieftenant was readie to receaue him at the Tower-gate; where the porter demaunded of him his vpper garment; marry porter, ſayd he, here it is, and gaue him of his cappe, ſaying, I am ſorie it is not better for thee. Nay Sir, quoth he, I muſt haue your gowne; which forthwith he gaue him; and then was conueyed to his lodging, where he called vnto him *Iohn Wood* his man there appointed to attende him, who could neither write nor reade, and ſware him before M.r Liefetenant, that if he ſhould heare or ſee him at anie time ſpeake or write anie thing againſt the king, the Councell or the State, of the realme, he ſhould open it to M.r Lieutenant that he might ſtraightwaies reueale it againe to the Councell. This was his peaceable and conſtant carriage in aduerſitie, bearing all his troubles with great alacritie, that both God was much pleaſed with his willingneſſe, & euerie man admired much his patience: For if aduerſitie will trie mens wiſedome and true fortitude, ſurely Sir THOMAS was a moſt wiſe man, that nothing happened vnto him, which he did

The vpper garment the porters fee.

His mans oath.

His wonderfull courage.

he did not in a manner foresee, and truly stoute, that noth ng could daũte his courage or abate his magnanimitie.

3. When he had remained with great chearefullnesse about a moneths space in the Tower, his daughter *Margaret* longing sore to see her father, made earnest sute, and at last gott leaue to goe to him; at whose coming after they had sayde togeather the Seauen Psalmes, and Letanies (which he vsed alwaies after to say with her, when she came thither, before he would fall in talke of anie worldlie matters, to the intent he might commende all his wordes to almightie God's honour and glorie) amongst other speaches he sayd thus vnto her: I beleue, *Megg*, that they who haue putt me here, thinke they haue donne me a high displeasure; but I assure thee on my fayth, mine owne good daughter, that if it had not bene for my wife & you my children, whome I accounte the chiefe parte of my charge, I would not haue fayled long ere this to haue closed myselfe in as strayte a roome as this, and strayter too; now since I am come

3. His discourse with his daughter Margaret.

Preuented with prayers.

The effort he found in his emprisonment.

come hither without mine owne deserte, I trust that God of his goodnesse will discharge me of my care, and with his gracious helpe supply the want of my presence amongst you; and I finde no cause, I thanke God, to recken myselfe here in worse case, then in mine owne house; For me thinkes God by this imprisonment maketh me one of his wantons, and setteth me vpon his lappe and dandeleth me, euen as he hath donne all his best friends, *S. Iohn Baptist*, *S. Peter*, *S. Paule* and all his holie Apostles, martyrs, and his most especiall fauorites, whose examples God make me worthie to imitate.

Fiue reasons vsed by his daughter to make him relēt

By which discourse of his it appeareth most euidently, that all the troubles, which euer happened vnto him, were no painefull punishments, but by his admirable patience and alacritie, most profitable exercises. My aunte *Rooper* contrariewise, either because she would haue more familiar accesse vnto her father, or else because in deede she would really perswade him to follow the king's fancie, beganne to diuerte him from such zealours discourses, and for-

forcibly to vrge him with manie reasons and motiues to the taking of this oath, that they might enioy his presence at his house at *Chelsey*; first, because he was more bounde to the king then anie man in *England*, and therefore ought the rather to obey his will in a case that was not euidently repugnant to Gods lawe; secondly, it seemed not credible, that so manie wise and learned men, as were in *England*, should all impugne the will of God; thirdly, that he should beware how he pinned his soule vpon Bishopp *Fisher*, being one of the meanest bishops in *England*; fourthly, that there were so manie Bishops, Doctours and learned men that had taken it; so that he being a lay man seemed bound, in her iudgement, to accommodate his conscience to theirs; and lastly, euerie one thought him bound in conscience to approue that, which a whole parlement of the realme had so vniformely enacted; for which reasons manie haue condemned you, Father, sayd she, either of inconsideration, rashnesse, or obstinacie. To the first Sir THOMAS answered as

1. Obedience to the King.

2. Authority of wise mē.

3. Only B. Fisher of his mind.

4. Himself a lay man.

5. against a parliament.

Sir T. M. answers.

may appeare by a letter of my aunte *Rooper's* yet extant, which contayneth all this their discourse, and by that letter of Sir THOMAS his written to *M.r Cromewell*, *that he had not slightly considered of this matter, but for these seauen yeares space, since the time that king* Henry *had written against* Luther, *he had diligently read ouer all the Fathers both Greeke & Latine, who all from* Ignatius (S. Iohn *Euangelist's disciple*) *euen to these late Diuines, with one consent, doe agree of the Popes Supremacie, which hath bene also accepted of throughout all Christendome, these thousand yeares and more; and he saw not how one member of the Church, as* England *was, could withdraw itself from the whole bodie; yet* when he saw this controuersie beganne to be disputed of, he alwaies had tempered his speaches against *Tindall*, that *ex professo* he neuer argued vpon that theame; but now being putt to his choice, whether he should offende his Conscience or the king, whether he should fall into temporall danger or eternall hazard of his soule, I cannot, saith he, re-

All the saints of God acknowleged the Popes supremacy

Why he neuer touched that point in his writings.

he, resolue otherwise, then anie wise man would.

To the second, he sayde, he would not condemne anie bodie for taking it; *for some, saith he, may doe it vpon temporall hopes, or feare of greate losses, for which I will neuer thinke anie hath taken it; for I imagine no bodie is so fraile and fearefull as myselfe; some may hope, that God will not impute it vnto them for a sinne, because they doe it by constrainte; some may hope to doe pennance presently after; and others are of opinion that God is not offended with our mouth so our heart be pure; but as for my parte, I dare not ieoparde my selfe vpon these vaine hopes.* Motiues with which many do. ceaue their owne cõsciences.

To the third, he saith, it was altogeather improbable, because he refused this oath before it was tendered to Bishopp *Fisher*, or before he knewe whether he would refuse it or no. He knew not of B. Fishers mind.

To the fourth, *though there were neuer so manie learned prelates within this realme, that should take it, yet being manie more in other partes of Christendome, which thinke as I doe, I am not boũd to cõforme my selfe to these alone, hauing* The Doctours of the Church greater then Doctours of England.

the Doctours of the Church on my side, who could not be drawen neither for hopes nor feares.

Finally to the laſt, he wiſely anſwered, that *although to denye the decree of a generall Councell were a damnable acte, yet to withſtande a ſtatute of one realme's making, which contradicteth the conſtant opinion of the whole Church, is neither a raſh deede, nor an obſtinate, but moſt laudable and Chriſtianlike.* All which diſputation my aunte *Rooper* ſett downe in a letter to her ſiſter *Alington*, printed togeather with Sir THOMAS his letters.

And generall Coūcels, then a Parliamēt

After all this, my aunte *Rooper* ſought to fright him, with the danger of death, which might perhaps moue him to relente, when he cannot hinder his mishappes, but now he might preuēt all, being yet not too late; wherevnto how hūbly he ſpeaketh of his owne frailtie, and how confidently he relyeth vpon Gods mercie, may be ſeene at large; whoſe wordes are ſo humble ſo zealous, ſo godlie, that they are able to pierce anie mans hart, that will reade them in the latter ende of his workes; they breathe

His truſt in Gods mercy againſt the fear of death.

breathe out an Angelicall ſpiritt, farre different from the preſumptuous ſpeaches of either heretike or deſperate man: *Lord helpe me; yf God for my manie and grieuous ſinnes will ſuffer me to be damned, his Iuſtice ſhalbe pmiſed in me; but I hope he will procure for me that his mercie ſhall haue the vpper hand; nothing can happen, but that which God pleaſeth; and what that is though it ſhould ſeeme euill vnto vs, yet it is truly the beſt.* A heauenly reſignation.

4. At another time, when he had queſtioned with my aunte *Rooper* of his wife, childrē, and ſtate of his houſe in his abſence, he asked her at laſt, how *Q. Anne* did: In fayth, Father, ſayd she, neuer better; there is nothing elſe in the Courte but dancing and ſporting. Neuer better, ſayd he; alas, *Megg*, alas; it pittieth me to remember vnto what miſerie, poore ſoule, she will shortly come; theſe dances of hers will proue ſuch dances, that she will ſpurne our heads of like foote bals; but it will not be lōg ere her head will dance the like dance. And how prophetically he ſpoke theſe words, the ende of her Tragedie proued it moſt true. 4. *Sir T. M. prophecieth Q. Annes death.*

His pleſant anſwer to his keepers honeſt exceſſe.

M.r Lieutenant coming into his chamber to viſite him, rehearſed the manie benefitts and friendshipps, that he had often receaued from him, and therefore that he was bound to entertaine him friendly, and make him good cheare; but the caſe ſtanding as it did, he could not doe it without the king's diſpleaſure; wherefore he hoped that he would accept of his good will, & of the poore fare he had. whereto he anſwered: I verily belieue you, good M.r Lieutenant, and I thanke you moſt hartily for it, and aſſure yourſelfe I doe not miſlike my fare; but whenſoeuer I doe, then ſpare not to thruſt me out of your doores.

The inconſtăcy andignorance of the oath makers.

Now whereas the oath of Supremacie and marriage was comprized in few wordes in the firſt Statute; the Lo: Chancellour and M.r Secretarie did of their owne heads adde more wordes vnto it, to make it ſeeme more plauſible to the king's eares; and this Oath ſo amplifyed they had exhibited to Sir THOMAS and others; of which their deede Sir THOMAS ſayde to his daughter: I may tell thee, *Megg*, that they who haue

haue committed me hither, for refuſing an oath not agreable with their owne ſtatute, are not able by their owne law to iuſtifye mine impriſonment; wherefore it is great pittie, that anie Chriſtian prince ſhould be drawen to followe his affections by flexible counſell, and by a weake Clergie lacking grace; for want of which they ſtande weakely to their learning, & abuſe themſelues with flatterie ſo shamefully. Which wordes coming to the Councell's eares, they cauſed another Statute, eſpying their ouerſight, to be enacted with all theſe conditions.

His meditation vpon the martyrdom of 24. religious mē

Another time looking out of his windowe to beholde one *Mr. Reynolds* a religious, learned and vertuous Father of *Sion* and three monkes of the *Charterhouſe* going forth of the Tower to their executiō (for now king *Henry* beganne to be fleshed in bloud, hauing putt to death the Nunne and diuerſe others, and manie after for the Supremacie and his marriage) Sir THOMAS, as one that longed to accompanie them in that iourney, ſayde to his daughter thē ſtanding beſides him: Loe, doeſt not thou ſee,

Megg,

Megg, that these blessed Fathers be now as chearefully going to death, as if they were bridegroomes going to be married? whereby, good daughter thou maist see, what a great difference there is betweene such as haue in effect spent all their daies in a straight, hard, and penitentiall life religiously, and such as haue in the world like worldlie wretches (as thy poore father hath donne) consumed all their time in pleasure and ease licentiously? For God considering their lōg continued life in most sore and grieuous pennance, will not suffer them anie longer to remaine in this vale of miserie, but taketh them speedily hence, to the fruitiō of his euerlasting deitie, whereas thy sillie father, who hath most like a wicked Caytife passed forth most sinfully the whole course of his miserable life; God thinketh him not worthie to come so soone to that eternall felicitie, but leaueth him still in the world further to be plunged and turmoiled with miserie. By which most humble and heauenlie meditation, we may easily gueesse what a spirite of Charitie he had gotten by often medita-

ditations, that euerie sight brought him new matter to practise most heroicall resolutions.

Within a while after this M.r Secretarie coming to him from the king (who still gaped more for Sir THOMAS his relenting, then all his other subiects) pretended much friendshipp towards Sir THOMAS, and for his comfort tolde him, that the king was his good and gratious Lord, and minded not to vrge him to anie matter, wherein he should haue anie cause of scruple from thenceforth to trouble his conscience. As soone as M. Secretarie was gone, to expresse what comfort he receaued of his words, he wrote with a coale, (as he did vsually manie other letters, because all his Inke had bene taken from him by the king's expresse commaundement,) certaine wittie verses, which are printed in his booke. Maister Secretary Cromwells visit.

All the while Sir THOMAS was in the Tower, he was not idle, but busied himself in writing (with a coale for the most parte) spirituall treatises, as the Three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation, where, in a dialogue manner vnder Sir T. M. writ in the tower his book of comfort.

the names of two *Hungarians* fearing the Turkes running ouer their Countrie, who had made great preparations therefore, he paynteth out in liuelie coulours both the danger that *England* ſtoode then in to be ouerwhelmed with hereſie, and how good Catholikes should prepare themſelues, to looſe libertie, life and lands and whatſoeuer can be moſt deare vnto them, rather then to forſake their fayth. It is a moſt excellent booke full of ſpirituall and forcible motiues, expreſſing liuely Sir THOMAS his ſingular reſolution to apply all thoſe holeſome medicines to himſelf, now being readie to practiſe in deede, whatſoeuer he ſetteth downe in wordes.

5. *A prety dialogue betweene Sir T. M. and his wife.*

4. When he had remained a good while in the Tower, my Ladie his wife obtained leaue to ſee him, that he might haue more motiues to breake his conſcience; who at the firſt comming to him like a plaine rude woman, and ſomewhat worldlie too, in this mãner beganne bluntely to ſalute him. What the good yeare, M.r More, I maruell that you, who haue bene hitherto

hitherto alwaies taken for a wiſe man, will now ſo play the foole, as to lie here in this cloſe filthie priſon, and be content to be ſhutt vp thus with mice and ratts, when you might be abroad at your libertie with the fauour and good will both of the king and the Counceil, if you would but doe ās all the bishopps & beſt learned of his realme haue donne: and ſeing you haue at *Chelſey* a right fayre houſe, your librarie, your bookes, your gallerie, your gardine, your orchard and all other neceſſaries ſo handſome about you, where you might in companie of me your wife, your Children and houſholde be merrie; I muſe what a Gods name you meane here ſtill thus fondly to tarrie. After he had a good while heard her, he ſayd vnto her with a chearefull countenance: I pray thee, good M.ris *Alice*, tell me one thing. What is that, ſayth she. *Is not this houſe as neare heauen as mine owne?* she ās wering after her cuſtome: Tillie vallie, tillie vallie: he replyed: how ſayſt thou M.ris *Alice*, is it not ſo indeede? *Bone Deus* man, will this geare neuer be left? Well then,

Her worldly obiection.

His heauenly answer.

Priſon as neer heauen as our owne houſe.

then, M.ris *Alice*, if it be ſo, *I ſee no great cauſe, why I ſhould much ioye either of my fayre houſe, or anie thing belonging therevnto, when if I ſhould be but ſeauen yeares buried vnder the ground, and riſe and come thither againe* (he might haue ſayd but ſeauen moneths) *I ſhould not fayle to finde ſome therein, that would bid me gett me out of doores, and tell me plainely, that it were none of mine; what cauſe haue I then to like ſuch a houſe, as would ſo ſoone forgett his Maiſter?* Againe, tell me M.ris *Alice*, how long doe you thinke may we liue and enioye it. Some twentie yeares, ſayd she. Truly, replyed he, yf you had ſayd ſome thouſand yeares, it had bene ſomewhat; and yet *he were a very bad marchant that would putt himſelf in danger to leeſe eternitie for a thouſand yeares; how much the rather if we are not ſure to enioy it one day to an ende.* And thus her perſwaſions moued him but a little, thinking of thoſe wordes of *Iob* to his wife tempting him: *quaſi vna ex ſtultis mulieribus locuta eſt.*

Eternity to be preferred before temporality.

An other yeer. Not long after this came there to him at two

ſeuerall

ſeuerall times the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of Norfolke and Suffolke with M.r Secretarie, and certaine others of the Priuie Councell to procure him by all meanes and policies they could either to confeſſe preciſely the king's Supremacie, or plainely to deny it. Here may we ſee that thoſe verie men, which ſeemed to crye before vnto him: *Oſanna, benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini*, ſay here: *tolle, tolle, crucifige eum:* this is the fickleneſſe of the worldlie men. But to this, as appeareth by the examinations ſett out at the ende of his English Workes, they could neuer bring him, becauſe he was loath to aggrauate the king's diſpleaſure againſt himſelfe, ſaying only, that the Statute was like a two-edged ſworde; if he ſhould ſpeake againſt it, he ſhould procure the death of his bodie; and if he ſhould cõſent vnto it, he ſhould purchaſe the death of his ſoule.

6. After all theſe examinations came M.r *Rich*, afterwards made the Lo: *Rich* for his good ſeruice donne in this point, then newly created the king's Sollicitour, *S.r Richard Southwell*

6. *M. Rich his ſophiſticall caſe.*

and one *M.r Palmer* M.r Secretarie's man, were ſent by the king to take away all his bookes *M.r Rich* pretending to talke friendly with Sir THOMAS ſayd thus vnto him, (as it proued after) of ſett purpoſe. For as much as it is well knowen *M.r More*, that you are a man both wiſe, & well learned in the lawes of this realme & in all other ſtudies, I pray you, Sir, lett me be ſo bolde as of good will to putt vnto you this Caſe: Admitt there were an act of Parlement made, that all the realme ſhould take me for king, would not you, *M.r More*, take me for king? Yes Sir, ſaid Sir THOMAS that I would; I putt the Caſe further, ſayd *M.r Rich*, that there were an act of Parlement, that all the realme ſhould take me for Pope, would not you then take me for Pope? For anſwer, ſayd Sir THOMAS to your firſt Caſe, the Parlement may well, *M.r Rich*, meddle with the ſtate of Temporall princes; but to make anſwer to your other Caſe; ſuppoſe the Parlement ſhould make a lawe, that God ſhould not be God, would you then, *M.r Rich*, ſay that God ſhould not be

God?

God? No Sir, ſayd he, that would I not: For no Parlement can make ſuch a lawe. No more, reported he, that Sir THOMAS ſhould ſay: (but indeede he made no ſuch inference, as he auouched after to *M.r Rich* his face) could the Parlement make the king ſupreame head of the Church; and vpon this only reporte of *M.r Rich*, Sir THOMAS was shortly after indited of high treaſon vpon the new Statute of Supremacie. At this time M.r Lieutenant reported that *M.r Rich* had ſo vile a ſmell about him, that he could ſcarce endure him, which Sir THOMAS alſo felt.

A poor ground for an inditement of treaſō.

7. He had a little before this begunne a diuine treatiſe of the paſſion of Chriſt; but when he came to expounde thoſe wordes of the Ghoſpell: *And they layde hands vpon him, and held him*; theſe gentlemen tooke from him all his bookes, Inke and paper, ſo that he could write no more. Which being donne, he applyed himſelfe wholy to meditation, keeping his chamber windowes faſt shutt, and very darke: the occaſion whereof M.r Lieutenant asking him,

7. A remarkable accident, at the taking away his bookes.

His mery ieaſt vpō it.

him, he answered: when all the wares are gone, the shoppe windowes are to be shutt vp. Yet still, by stealth he would gett little peeces of paper, in which he would write diuerse letters with a coale: of which my father left me one, which was to his wife: which I accounte as a precious Iewell, afterwards drawen ouer by my grandfathers sonne with inke.

8. How great care he took not to offend the king.

8. What respect Sir THOMAS had not to displease the king in anie of his deedes or answers, may be seene by his discreete behauiour in all his proceedings. For first in his bookes he neuer handled exactly the Popes Supremacie, though vrgent occasion were giuen him by the bookes which he tooke in hand to confute; secondly, whatsoeuer writing he had touching that Controuersie, he either made them away or burnt them, before his troubles; as also a booke, which the Bishopp of *Bath* had written of that matter; thirdly, he would neuer take vpon him to aduise any man in that point, though much vrged thereto by letters, especially of Doctour *Willson* his fellow prisoner in the Tower,

Tower, knowing himself being a lay man, not to be bound to perswade a Clergie man, much lesse a Doctour of Diuinitie. Fourthly, when he was brought from the Tower to *Westminster* to answer his Inditement, & therevpon arraigned at the King's-Bench-barre, where he had often asked his father's blessing; he openly told the Iudges, that he would haue abidden in law, and demurred vpon the Inditement, but that he should haue bene driuen thereby to confesse of himselfe, that he had denyed the kings Supremacie, which he protested he neuer had donne. And indeede the principall faulte there Layde to his charge, was that he maliciously, traiterously, and Diabolically would not vtter his minde of that Oath. Whereto Sir THOMAS pleaded; not guiltie: & reserued to himselfe aduantage to be taken of the bodie of the matter after verdict, to auoyde that Inditemēt, adding moreouer, that if only those odious tearmes, were taken out, he saw nothing that could charge him of anie Treason.

The substance of his inditement.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

THE ARRAIGNEMENT & condemnation of Sir THOMAS MORE.

1. *Sir Thomas Mores arraignement at the kings-benche.*
2. *His worthy resolute, and discreet answer to his inditement.*
3. *Maister Riche his false oath against Sir Thomas, cleerly reiected.*
4. *The Iurours verdict excepted against, by Sir Thomas, with a noble confession of ecclesiasticall supremacy.*
5. *Sentence of condemnation pronounced against Sir Thomas.*
6. *He deliuereth fully & plainly his iudgemēt, touching the act and oath of supremacy.*

1. After

1. After that the king had endeauoured by all meanes possible to gett Sir THOMAS his consent vnto his lawes knowing that his example would moue manie being so eminent for wisedome and rare vertues, and could by no meanes obtaine his desire, he commaunded him to be called to his Arraignemēt at the kings-bench barre, hauing bene a prisoner in the Tower somewhat more then a twelue-moneth, for he was Committed about midde-Aprill, and this happened the seauenth of May 1535. the yeare following: He went thither leaning on his staffe, becausse he had bene much weakened by his imprisonment, his countenance chearefull and constant; his Iudges were: *Andley* the Lo: Chancellour, *Fitz Iames*, the Lo: Chiefe ustice, *Sir Iohn Baldwin*, *Sir Richard Leister*, *Sir Iohn Port*, *Sir Iohn Spilman*, *Sir Walter Luke*, *Sir Antonie Fitzherbert*: where the king's Attorny reading

1. *The arraignemēt of Sir Th. More.*

His iodges.

a long odious Inditement, contayning all the crimes, that could be layd againſt anie notorious malefactour, ſo long, as Sir THOMAS profeſſed, he could ſcarce remember the third parte, that was obiected againſt him; but the ſpeciall faulte was that of the refuſall of the oath, as is before ſpoken, for proofe whereof his double examination in the tower was alleaged; the firſt, before *Cromerwell, Thomas Beade, Iohn Tregunnell, &c.* To whome he profeſſed that he had giuen ouer to thinke of titles either of Popes or Princes, although all the whole world ſhould be giuen him, being fully determined only to ſerue God; the ſecond before *the Lo: Chancellour, Duke of Suffolke, Earle of Wiltſhire* and others, before whome he compared that Oath to a two-edged ſword; for if he ſhould take it, his ſoule ſhould be wounded; yf he refuſed it, his bodie: That he had written letters to Biſhopp *Fiſher* to perſwade him therein, becauſe their anſwers were alike; vpon all which it was concluded, that Sir THOMAS was a traytour to his Prince and realme, for denying the

His inditement.

king's

king's ſupreme Iuriſdiction in eccleſiaſticall gouernement, preſently after this Inditement was read, the Lo: Chancellour and the Duke of *Norfolke* ſpoke to this effect vnto him: you ſee now how grieuouſly you haue offended his Maieſtie. Yet he is ſo merciefull, that yf you will lay away your obſtinacie, and change your opinion, we hope you may obtaine pardon of his highneſſe. Whereto the ſtoute Champion of Chriſt replyed: Moſt noble Lords, I haue great cauſe to thanke your Honours for this your courteſie; but *I beſeech Almightie god that I may continue in the minde I am in through his grace vnto death*; by which three words he exerciſed the actes of three vertues, humanitie, pietie, and fortitude, ſhewing himſelf a Ciuile man, a godlie Chriſtian, and a noble Confeſſour of Chriſt's truth.

The iudges charges.

His Chriſtian reſolution.

2. After this he was ſuffered to ſaye what he could in his owne defence, and then he beganne in this ſorte: *When I thinke how long my accuſation is, and what haynous matters are layed to my charge, I am ſtroken with feare, leaſt*

2. Sir Th. his anſwer to the inditement.

my memorie and witt both, which are decayed togeather with the health of my bodie through a long impediment contracted by my impriſonmẽt, be not now able to anſwer theſe things on the ſuddaine, as I ought, and otherwiſe could. After this there was brought him a chaire, in which when he was ſate, he began againe thus:

2. How ſincerly he had always told the K. his mind, touching the marriage.

There are foure principall heads, yf I be not deceaued, of this my Inditement, euerie of which I purpoſe, God willing, to anſwer in order; To the firſt that is obiected againſt me, to witt, that I haue bene an enemie of a ſtubberneſſe of minde to the king's ſecond marriage; I confeſſe that I alwaies tolde the king my opinion therein, as my conſcience dictated vnto me, which I neither euer would, nor ought to haue concealed; for which I am ſo farre from thinking myſelf guiltie of high treaſon, as that of the contrarie, I being demaunded my opinion by ſo great a prince in a matter of ſuch importance, wherevpon the quietneſſe of a kingdome dependeth, I ſhould haue baſely flattered him againſt mine owne cõſcience, and not vttered the truth as I thought, then

then I should worthily haue bene accounted a most wicked subiect, and a perfidious trayter to God; yf herein I had offended the king, if it can be an offence to tell one's minde plainely, when our prince asketh vs, I suppose I haue bene alreadie punished enough for this false, with most grieuous afflictions, with the losse of all my goods, and committed to perpetuall imprisonment, hauing bene shutt vp alreadie almost these 15. monethes.

The durance of his emprisonment and afflictiõs.

My second accusation is that I haue transgressed the Statute in the last parlement, that is to say, being a prisonner, and twice examined by the Lords of the Councell, I would not disclose vnto them my opinion of a malignant, perfidious, obstinate and trayterous minde, whether the king were supreame head of the Church or no; but answered them, that this law belonged not not to me, whether it were iust or vniust, because I did not enioye anie benefice from the churche; yet I then protested, that I neuer had sayd or donne anie thing against it, neither can anie one word or action of mine be produced, to make me culpable; yea this I confesse was then my speach

2. Why he refused to tell his iudgemẽt of the law of supremacy.

3. Lay men not touched with that law.

my ſpeach vnto their Honours, that I hereafter would thinke of nothing elſe, but of the bitter paſsion of our bleſſed Sauiour and of my paſſage out of this miſerable world; I wiſhe no harme to anie; and yf this will not keepe me aliue, I deſire not to liue; by all which I knowe, that I could not tranſgreſſe anie lawe or incurre anie crime of treaſon; for neither this Statute nor anie lawe in the world can punish anie man for holding his peace; for they only can punish either words or deedes, God only being Iudge of our ſecrett thoughts.

No law can punish silēce that is without malice.

Of which words, becauſe they were vrgent indeede, the king's Atturnie interrupted him and ſayd: Although we haue not one word or deede of yours to obiect againſt you, yet haue we your ſilence, which is an euident ſigne of a malicious minde, becauſe no dutiefull ſubiect being lawfully asked this queſtion, will refuſe to anſwer. To which Sir THOMAS replyed ſaying: *my ſilēce is no ſigne of anie malicious minde, which the king himſelf may knowe by manie of my dealings, neither doth it conuince anie man of breache*

Whether his silence were malicious.

breathe of your lawe. For it is a maxime amongst the Ciuilians and Canonists: Qui tacet, consentire videtur; he that holdeth his peace, seemeth to consente. And as for that you say: no good subiect will refuse to answer directly, I thinke it verily the dutie of a good subiect, except he be such a subiect, as will be an euill Christian; rather to obey God then man, to haue more care of offending his Conscience, then of anie other matter in the world, especially if his Conscience procure neither heauie scandall nor sedition to his Prince or Coūtrie, as mine hath not donne; for I here proteste vnfaynedly, that I neuer reuealed it to anie man liuing. Obedience first to God, and then to man.

I nowe come to the third Capitall matter of my Inditement, whereby I am accused, that I malitiously attempted, mysterously endeauoured and perfidiously practised against this Statute, as the wordes thereof affirme, because I wrote eight sundrie packetts of letters, whilst I was in the Towre, vnto Bishopp Fisher, by which I exhorted him to breake the same lawe; and induced him to the like obstinacie; I would haue 3. That he neuer counselled or induced B. Fisher.

theſe letters produced and read againſt me, vvhich may either free me or conuince me of a lye. But becauſe you ſay the Bishopp burnt them all, I will here tell the truth of the vvhole matter; ſome vvere only of priuate matters, as about our olde friendshipp and acquaintance; one of them vvas in anſvver to his, vvhereby he deſired of me to knovve hovv I had anſvvered in my examinations to this Oath of Supremacie; touching vvhich, this only I vvrote vnto him againe, that I had already ſettled my conſcience; lett him ſettle his to his ovvne good liking; and no other anſvver I gaue him, God is my vvittneſſe, as God, I hope, ſhall ſaue this my ſoule; and this I truſt is no breache of your lavves:

The contents of his letters to the ſaid Bishop.

The laſt obiected crime is, that being examined in the tovver I did ſay that this lavv vvas like a tvvo-edged ſvvord; for in cõſenting thereto, I ſhould endanger my ſoule; in refuſing it, I ſhould leeſe my life: vvhich anſvver, becauſe B. Fisher made the like, it is euidently gathered, as you ſay, that vve both cõſpired togeather. Where-to I replye, that my anſvver there vvas but Conditionall,

4. The law of ſupremacy like a two-edged ſvvord.

ditionall, yf there be danger in both either to allowe or disallowe this Statute; and therefore, like a twoo-edged sword, it seemeth a hard thing, that it should be offered to me, that neuer haue hitherto contradicted it either in word or deede. These were my wordes. What the Bishopp answered, I knowe not. If his answer were like mine, it proceeded not from anie Conspiracie of ours but from the likenesse of our witts & learning. To conclude I vnfaynedly auouche, that I neuer spake word against this lawe to anie liuing man; although perhaps the king's Maiestie hath bene tolde the contrarie.

3. To this full answer the Atturnye did not replye anie more, but the word: Malice: was in the mouth of all the Courte; but noe man could produce either word or deede to proue it; yet for all this clearing of himself, for a last proofe to the Iurie that Sir THOMAS was guiltie, *M.r Rich* was called forth to giue euidence vnto them vpon his oath, which he did forthwith, affirming that which we haue spokē of before in their Communication in the

3. *M. Riches oath against Sir T. More.*

Tower, againſt whome, now ſworne and forſworne, Sir THOMAS beganne in this wiſe to ſpeake. Yf I were a man, my Lords, that did not regarde an oath, I needed not at this time in this place, as is well knowē vnto euerie one, to ſtande as an accuſed perſon. And yf this oath, *M.r Rich*, which you haue taken be true, then I pray, that I neuer ſee God in the face: which I would not ſay, were it otherwiſe, to gaine the whole world.

Euidently diſproued by Sir Tho. Mores oath to contrary.

Then did he recite before all the Courte the whole diſcourſe of all their Communication in the Tower, according as it was, truly & ſincerely, adding this: In good fayth *M.r Rich*, I am more ſorie for your periurie, then for mine owne perill; and knowe you, that neither I nor anie man elſe to my knowledge euer tooke you to be a man of ſuch creditt, as either I or anie other would vouchſafe to communicate with you in anie matter of importance. You knowe that I haue bene acquaynted with your manner of life and conuerſation a long ſpace, euen from your youth to this time; for we dwelt long

By iuſt exceptiō againſt the witneſſe vnworthy of credit.

long togeather in one parish, where as yourſelf can well tell (I am ſorie you compelle me to ſpeake it) you were alwaies eſteemed very light of your toung, a greate dycer and gameſter, & not of anie commendable fame either there or at your houſe in the Temple, where hath bene your bringing vp. Can it therefore ſeeme likelie to your Hon: ble Lordshipps that in ſo weightie a Cauſe I ſhould ſo vnaduiſedly ouershoote myſelfe as to truſt *M.r Rich* a man alwaies reputed of me for one of ſo little truth and honeſtie, ſo farre aboue my Soueraigne Lord, the king, to whome I am ſo deepely indebted for his manifolde fauours, or anie of his noble and graue Counſellours, that I would declare only to *M.r Rich* the ſecretts of my Conſcience touching the king's Supremacie, the ſpeciall poynt and onlie marke ſo long ſought for at my hands; which I neuer did nor neuer would reueale after the Statute once made either to the king's highneſſe himſelfe or to anie of his noble Councellours, as it is well knowen to your Honours, who haue bene ſent, for no

other purpoſe, at ſundrie ſeuerall times from his Maieſties perſon to me in the tower, I referre it to your iudgements, my Lords, whether this can ſeeme a thing credible to anie of you.

Yf it had been true, ther had been no malice.

And yf I had donne, as *M.r Rich* hath ſworne, ſeing it was ſpoken but in familiar ſecret talke, affirming nothing, but only in putting of Caſes without anie vnpleaſing circumſtances, it cannot iuſtly be taken to be ſpoken maliciouſly, and where there is no malice, there can be no offence. Beſides this, my Lords, I cannot thinke, that ſo manie worthie Bishops, ſo manie honourable perſonages, & ſo manie worshippfull vertuous and well learned men as were in the Parlemēt aſſembled at the making of that law euer meant to haue anie man punished by death, in whome there could be found no malice, taking *malitia* for *maleuolentia*; for if *malitia* be taken in a generall ſignification for anie ſinne, no man there is that can excuſe himſelfe thereof. Wherefore this very word *malitiouſly* is only materiall in this Statute, as the word *forcible* is in the Statute of *forcible*

Malice in law.

cible entrie; for in that Caſe if anie enter peaceably and putt his aduerſarie out forcibly, it is no offence; but if he enter forcibly, he shall be punished by that Statute.

The improbability of M. Rich his depoſition.

Beſides all the vnſpeakable goodneſſe of the king's highneſſe towards me, who hath bene ſo manie wayes my ſingular good Lord and gracious Soueraigne, he, I ſay, who hath ſo dearely loued & truſted me, euen from my firſt coming into his royall ſeruice, vouchſafing to grace me with the dignitie of being one of his Priuie Councell, and hath moſt liberally aduanced me to offices of great Creditt and worshipp, finally with the chiefe dignitie of his Maieſtie's high Chancellour, the like whereof he neuer did to anie Temporall man before, which is the higheſt office in this noble realme, and next to his royall perſon, ſo farre aboue my meritts and qualities, honouring and exalting me of his incomparable benignitie by the ſpace of theſe twentie yeares and aboue, shewing his continuall fauours towards me, and now at laſt it hath pleaſed his Highneſſe at mine owne humble

humble ſuite to giue me licence with his Maieſtie's fauour to beſtowe the reſidue of my life in the ſeruice of God for the better prouiſion of my ſoule, to diſcharge and disburthen me of that weightie dignitie, before which he had ſtill heaped honours more and more vpon me; all this his highneſſe's bountie ſo long and ſo plentiefully powred vpon me, were in my minde matter ſufficient to conuince this ſlaunderous accuſation ſo wrongfully by this man ſurmized and vrged againſt me, which I committ to your Lordshipps honourable conſideracions, whether this oath be likelie or not to be true.

M. Rich his witneſſes do faile him

M.r Rich ſeing himſelfe ſo euidently to be diſproued, and his Creditt ſo fowlely defaced, cauſed *Sr. Richard Southwell* & *M.r Palmer*, who in the time of their communication were in the ſame chamber with them two, to be there ſworne, what words had paſſed betweene them. wherevpon *M.r Palmer* vpon his depoſition ſayd, that he was ſo buſie in the thruſting vp of Sir THOMAS's bookes in to a ſacke, that he tooke no heede to their talke. *S.r Richard Southwell* alſo ſayde

ſayde likewiſe, that becauſe he was appointed only to looke to the conueying of the bookes, he gaue no eare vnto them. And after all this Sir THOMAS alleaged manie other reaſons in his owne defence to the vtter diſcreditt of *M.r Riche's* foreſayde euidence, and for proofe of the cleareneſſe of his owne Conſcience.

4. But for all that euer he could doe or ſay, the Iurie of Twelue men, whoſe names were *S.r Thomas Palmer*, *S.r Thomas Peirt*, *George Louell* eſquier, *Thomas Burbage* eſquier, *Geoffrey Chamber* gentleman, *Edward Stockmore* gentleman, *William Browne* gentleman, *Iaſpar Leake* gentleman, *Thomas Billington* gentleman, *Iohn Parnel* gentleman, *Richard Bellame* gentleman, *George Stoakes* gentleman. Theſe, I ſay, going togeather and ſtaying ſcarce one quarter of an hower (for they knew what the king would haue donne in that Caſe) returned with their verdict, Guiltie. 4. *The Iurie verdict, guiltie.*

Wherefore the Lo: Chancellour, as Chiefe Iudge in that matter, beganne preſently to proceede to Iudgemẽt; which Sir THOMAS hearing *Excepted againſt by Sir Thomas.*

ſayd vnto him: My Lord; when I was towards the law, the manner in ſuch caſes was, to aske the priſonner before ſentence, whether he could giue anie reaſon, why Iudgement should not proceede againſt him. Vpon which words the Lo: Chancellour ſtaying his ſentence, wherein he had alreadie partely proceeded, aſked Sir THOMAS what he was able to ſay to the contrarie, who forthwith made anſwer in this ſorte: *For as much as, my Lords, this Inditement is grounded vpon an acte of Parlement directly repugnant to the lawes of God and his holie Church the ſupreme gouernement of which or of anie parte thereof no Temporall perſon may by anie lawe preſume to take vpon him, that which rightfully belongeth to the Sea of* Rome, *which by ſpeciall prerogatiue was gmnted by the mouth of our Sauiour Chriſt himſelf to* S. Peter *and the Biſhops of* Rome *his ſucceſſours only; whilſt he liued, and was perſonally preſent here vpon earth; it is therefore amongſt Catholike Chriſtiās inſufficient in lawe, to charge anie Chriſtian man to obey it;* And for proofe of this ſound aſſertion,

The act of parlament againſt Gods law.

No lay man can be head of the churche.

ſortion, he declared amongſt manie reaſons & ſound authorities, that *like as this realme alone being but one member and a ſmall parte of the the Church, might not make a particular lawe diſagreing with the generall lawe of Chriſt's vniuerſall Catholike Church, no more then the Cittie of* London *being but one member in reſpect of the whole realme may enact a lawe againſt an Act of Parlement, to binde thereby the whole kingdome. So ſhewed he further that this lawe was euen contrarie to the lawes and ſtatutes of this our realme not yet repealed, as they might euidently ſee in* Magna Charta, *where it is ſayd, that* Eccleſia Anglicana libera ſit, & habeat omnia iura integra & libertates ſuas illeſas: *And it is contrarie alſo to that ſacred oath, which the king's highneſſe himſelf and euerie other Chriſtian prince alwaies receaue with great ſollemnitie at their Coronatiõs. Moreouer he alleaged that this realme of* England *might worſe refuſe their obedience to the Sea of* Rome, *then anie childe might to their naturall father. For as* S. Paul *ſayd to the* Corinthians: Ihaue regenerated

Againſt the lawes of the realme.

Againſt the kings owne oath.

Againſt the peculiar obligation of England to Rome.

you, my children, in Christ, *so might that worthie Pope of* Rome S. Gregorie *the* Great *say to vs Englishmen: yee are my Children, because I haue giuen you euerlasting saluation; For by* S. Augustin *and his followers, his immediate messengers,* England, *first receaued the Christian Faith; which is a farre higher and better inheritance, then anie carnall father can leaue to his children; for a sonne is only by generation; we are by regeneration made the spirituall Children of Christ and the Pope.*

To these wordes the Lo: Chancellour replied, that seing all the Bishopps Vniuersities & best learned men of this realme had agreed to this Act, it was much marueled that he alone should so stiffely sticke thereat, and so vehemently argue there against it. To which wordes Sir THOMAS answered, that *if the number of Bishopps and vniuersities were so materiall, as his Lordshipp seemeth to make it, then doe I, my Lord, see little cause why that thing in my conscience should make anie change; for I do not doubt but of the learned and vertuous men that*

Against all Christendom that euer was.

are

are yet aliue, I speake not only of this realme, but of all Christendome about, there are ten to one that are of my minde in this matter; but if I should speake of those learned Doctours and vertuous Fathers, that are alreadie dead, of whome manie are Saints in heauen, I am sure that there are farre more, who all the while they liued, thought in this Case, as I thinke now: And therefore, my Lord, I thinke myself not bound to conforme my conscience to the Councell of one realme against the generall consent of all Christendome.

5. Now when Sir THOMAS had taken as manie exceptions as he thought meete, for the auoyding of this Inditement, and alleaging manie more substantiall reasons, then can be here sett downe, the Lo: Chancellour hauing bethought himselfe, and being loath now to haue the whole burthen of this Condemnatiõ to lye vpon himselfe, asked openly there the aduise of my Lo: Chiefe Iustice of *England*, *S.r Iohn Fitz Iames*, whether this Inditement were sufficient or no; who wisely answered thus: my Lords all, by *S. Gillian* (for that was

5. The condemnatiõ of S. Tho. Mor.

By yis, & ands, but no proofes.

euer his oath) I muſt needes confeſſe that if the Act of Parlement be not vnlawfull, then the Inditement is not in my conſcience inſufficient: An anſwere like that of the Scribes and Phariſies to *Pilate*: Yf this man were not a malefactour, we would neuer haue deliuered him vnto you; And ſo with *yfs* and *ands* he added to the matter a ſlender euaſion. Vpon whoſe words my Lo: Chancellour ſpoke euen as *Caiphas* ſpoke in the *Iewish* Councell: *Quid adhuc deſideramus teſtimonium, reus eſt mortis*, & ſo preſently he pronounced this ſentence.

The ſentence. That he ſhould be brought back to the Tower of *London* by the helpe of *William Bingſton* Sheriffe, and from thence drawen on a hurdle through the Cittie of *London* to *Tyburne*, there to be hanged till he be halfe dead, after that cutt downe yet aliue, his priue partes cutt of, his bellie ripped, his bowells burnt, and his foure quarters ſett vp ouer foure gates of the Cittie, his head vpon *London*-bridge. This was the Iudgement of that worthie man, who had ſo well deſerued both of the king and

Coun-

Countrie; for which *Paulus Iouius* calleth king *Henrie* another *Phalaris*.

The sentence yet was by the king's pardon changed afterwards only into Beheading, because he had borne the greatest office of the realme: of which mercie of the king's, word being brought to Sir THOMAS he answered merrily: God forbidde, the king should vse anie more such mercie vnto anie of my friends; and God blesse all my posteritie from such pardons. Mitigated by the king.

6. When Sir THOMAS had now fully perceaued that he was called to Martyrdome, hauing receaued sentence of death, with a bolde and constante countenance he spoke in this manner: *Well seing I am condemned, God knowes how iustly, I will freely speake for the disburthening of my Conscience, what I thinke of this lawe; When I perceaued that the king's pleasure was to sifte out, from whence the Popes authoritie was deriued, I confesse I studyed seauē yeares togeather to finde out the truth thereof; & I could not reade in anie one Doctour's writings,* 6. *Sir Thomas fully deliuereth his iudgement of the act of suoremacy to be vnlawfull.*

which

which the Church allowveth, anie one saying that auoucheth that a lay man was or could euer be the head of the Church.

To this my Lo: Chancellour againe: Would you be accounted more wise and of more sincere conscience then all the Bishopps, learned Doctours, Nobilitie and Commons of this realme? To which Sir THOMAS replyed: *I am able to produce against one Bishopp, which you can bring forth of your side one hundred holie and Catholike Bishopps for my opinion, and against one realme, the consent of all Christendome for more then a thousand yeares.* The Duke of *Norfolke* hearing this sayd Now, Sir THOMAS, you shew your obstinate and malicious minde. To whome Sir THOMAS sayd: *Noble Sir, not any malice or obstinacie causeth me to say this, but the iustnesse of the Cause constrayneth me for the discharge of my Conscience, and I call God to witnesse, no other then this hath moued me hereunto.*

Against all the churche of God.

Constancie or obstinacy.

After this the Iudges courteously offered him their fauourable audience, yf he had anie thing

Sir Tho. Mores blessed charity to his Iudges.

thing else to alleage in his owne defence; who answered most mildely and charitably: *More haue I not to say, my Lords, but that like as the blessed Apostle S. Paul, as wee reade in the Acts of the Apostles, was present & consenting to the death of the protomartyr* S. Stephen, *keeping their cloathes that stoned him to death, and yet they be now both twaine holie Saints in heauen and there shall continue friends together for euer; so I verily trust, & shall therefore hartily pray, that though your Lordshipps haue bene on earth my Iudges to condemnation, yet we may hereafter meete in heauen merrily together to our euerlasting saluation; and God preserue you all especially my Soueraigne Lord the king, and graunt him faythfull Councellours*; in which prayer he most liuely imitated the example of holie *S. Stephen*: *ne statuas illis hoc peccatum*; yea of our Sauiour himself speaking on the crosse: *Pater dimitte illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*.

All these of Sir THOMAS his speaches were faythfully deliuered from *S.r Antonie Sentle-*

The truth of this relation fro present witnesses of credit.

ger, *Richard Haywood*, and *Iohn Webbe* gentlemen, with others more of good credit who were present and heard all, which they reported to my vncle *Rooper*, agreing all in one discourse.

THE

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

THE HOLY DEATH and glorious martyrdom of Sir THOMAS MORE.

1. *The manner howw Sir Thomas was led back to the towwer from his arraignement; wwhere his ſonne publiquely demanded his bleſſing.*
2. *Miſtreſſe Margaret Roper, his daughters noble and laudable loue to her father Sir Thomas, nowv condemned.*
3. *Howv deuoutly and magnanimouſly Sir T. M. expected his exequution.*
4. *Aduertiſment of the day of his death ſent him from the king.*
5. *The manner and forme of his glorious death and martyrdom.*

6. *The kings sadnes upon report of his death: with some notable circumstances of his buriall.*
7. *A consideration of the last blessing which he gaue to his heires, and their progenie after them.*
8. *Physiognomy of Sir Thomas More.*

1. *The manner of Sir Thomas his returne to the tower.*

1. FTer his Condemnation he was conducted from the barre to the Tower againe, an axe being carried before him, with the edge towards him, and was lead by *S. William Kinston* a tall strong and comelie gentleman, Constable of the Tower, and his verie good friend; but presently a dolefull spectacle was presented to Sir THOMAS and all the standers by; for his onlie sonne, my grandfather, like a dutiefull childe, casteth him self at his father's feete, craving humbly his blessing, not without teares, whome he blessed and kissed most louingly, whose loue and obedience Sir

His sonne asketh him blessing.

THOMAS

THOMAS in a letter prayſed ſaying, that this his behauiour pleaſed him greately. When *S.r William* had conducted Sir THOMAS to the Olde Swanne towards the Tower, there he bad him Farewell with a heauie heart, the teares trickeling downe his cheekes: but Sir THOMAS with a ſtayed grauitie ſeing him ſorrowfull, beganne to comfort him with chearefull ſpeaches, ſaying: good *M.r Kinſton*, trouble not your ſelfe, but be of good cheare; for I will pray for you, and my good Ladie your wife, that we may meete in heauen togeather, where we ſhall be merrie for euer and euer. Soone after this *S.r William* talking hereof, to my vncle *Rooper*, ſayd: In good fayth *M.r Rooper*, I was ashamed of myſelfe, that at our parting I found my hart ſo weake, and his ſo ſtoute, that he was fayne to comfort me, who ſhould rather at that time haue comforted him: but God and the cleareneſſe of his Conſcience is a comfort, which no earthlie prince can giue or take away. Great conſtancy, courteſy, and charity.

2. When Sir THOMAS was come now to the Tower-wharfe his beſt beloued childe my aunte 2. His children lamenting for him.

aunte *Rooper* desirous to see her father, whome she feared she should neuer see in this world after, to haue his last blessing, gaue there attendance to meete him; whome as soone as she had espyed, after she had receaued vpon her knees, his fatherlie blessing, she ranne hastily vnto him, and without consideration or care of herselfe, passing through the midst of the throng and guarde of men, who with billes and halberds compassed him round, there openly in the sight of them all embraced him, tooke him about the necke and kissed him, not able to say anie word, but: *Oh my father, oh my father.* He liking well her most naturall and deare affection towards him, gaue her his fatherlie blessing; telling her, that whatsoeuer he should suffer though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, and that she knew well enough all the secretts of his hart, counselling her to accommodate her will to Gods blessed pleasure, and bad her be patient for her losse. She was no sooner parted from him, and gone ten steppes, when she not satisfyed with the

His daughter Margarets laudable passion.

the former Farewell, like one who had forgotte herſelfe rauished with the intire loue of ſo worthie a father, hauing neither reſpect to herſelfe, nor to the preſſe of the people about him, ſuddenly turned backe, and ranne haſtily to him, tooke him about the necke, and diuerſe times togeather kiſſed him; whereat he ſpoke not a word, but carrying ſtill his grauitie, teares fell alſo from his eyes; yea there were very few in all the troupe, who could refrayne hereat from weeping, no not the guarde them ſelues, yet at laſt with a full heauie hart she was ſeuered from him: at which time *Margarett Gigs* embraced him & kiſſed him alſo; yea mine Aunt's mayde one *Dorothie Collie* did the like; of whome he ſayd after, it was homelie, but verie louingly donne; all theſe and alſo his ſonne my grandfather wittneſſed that they ſmelt a moſt odoriferous ſmell to come from him, according to that of *Iſaac: Odor filij mei, ſicut odor agri pleni, cui benedixit Dominus.*

A ponderation vpon this mutuall paſsiō of Father & daughter

Oh what a ſpectacle was this, to ſee a woman of nature shamefaſt, by education modeſt, to expreſſe

expreſſe ſuch exceſſiue griefe, as that loue should make her shake of all feare and shame; which dolefull ſight piercing the harts of all beholders, how doe you thinke it moued her fathers? ſurely his affection and forcible loue would haue daunted his courage, if that a diuine ſpiritt of conſtancie had not inſpired him to beholde this moſt generous woman, his moſt worthie daughter, endewed with all good guifts of nature, all ſparkes of pietie, which are wont to be moſt acceptable to a louing father, to preſſe vnto him, at ſuch a time and place, where no man could haue acceſſe, hanging about his necke, before he perceaued, holding ſo faſt by him, as she could ſcarce be plucked of, not vttering anie other words hut *oh my father*, what a ſword was this to his hart, and at laſt being drawen away by force, to runne vpon him againe without anie regarde either of the weapons, wherewith he was compaſſed, or of the modeſtye becoming her owne ſexe: what comfort did he want? what courage did he then ſtande in neede of? and yet he reſiſted all this

moſt

moſt couragiouſly, remitting nothing of his ſteadie grauitie, ſpeaking only that which we haue recited before, and at laſt deſiring her to pray for her fathers ſoule.

This and other his heroicall actes made Cardinall *Poole* write thus of him: Cardinal Pooles eſtimatio of Sir Thomas his death

Strangers and men of other nations, that neuer had ſeene him in their liues, receaued ſo much griefe, at the hearing of his death, that reading the ſtorie thereof, they could not refraine from weeping, bewayling an vnknowne perſon only famous vnto them for his worthie acts: Yea, ſaith he, I cannot holde myſelfe from weeping as I write, though I be farre of my countrie; I loued him dearely, who had not ſo manie vrgent cauſes of his loue, as manie others had, only in reſpect of his vertues and heroicall acts, for which he was a moſt neceſſarie member of his Countrie; and now God is my witneſſe, I shedde for him euen whether I would or noe, ſo manie teares, that they hinder me frō writing, and often blott out the letters quite, which I am frāing, that I cā proceede no further.

3. How deuoutly & cheerfully he attended his execution.

3. So remained this vnconquerable Conquerour of the flesh, the world, and the diuell, some seuenight after his Iudgement, in the Tower, arming himself with prayer, meditatiō, and manie holie mortifications, for the day of his Martyrdome, and walking about this chāber with a sheete about him, like a corps readie to be buried, and vsing to whippe himselfe very sore and long.

In this meane time and space, came to him a light headed Courtier, talking of no serious matter, but only vrging him this, that he would change his minde; and being wearied with his importunitie, he answered him, that he had changed it, who presently went and tolde the king thereof; and being by him commaunded to knowe, wherein his minde was changed, Sir THOMAS rebuked him for his lightnesse, in that he would tell the king euerie word that he spoke in ieaste, meaning, that whereas he had purposed to be shauen, that he might seeme to others as he before was wōt, now he was fully minded, that his beard should take such parte as his head did;

A pleasaunt cōceipt vpō a leight courtyer.

did; which made the fellow blanke, and the king verie angrie.

In this while also he wrote a most kinde letter vnto *M.r Antonie Bonuise* an Italian marchant, in Latine, calling him the halfe of his hart; which is to be seene amongst his other letters. Last of all; the day before he was to suffer, being the Fifth of Iuly, he wrote a most louing letter with a coale, to his daughter *Margarett*, sending therein his blessing to all his children; in which he writeth very affectionately, yet he knew nothing of his death as then, in these words: *I cumber thee, daughter* Margarett, *very much; but I would be sorie, that it should be anie loger then to morrow: for to morrow is* S. Thomas of Canterbury's *eeue, and the vtas of* S. Peter; *and therefore to morrow I long to goe to God; it were a day very meete and conuenient. I neuer liked your manner towards me better, then when you kissed me last. For I like when daughterlie loue and deare charitie haue noe leasure to looke vnto worldlie courtesie. Farewell, deare daughter, pray for me, and I will pray for you*

His last letters: To Antony Bonuise.

To his daughter Margaret

His desire to dy vpō the octaue of S. Peter, which was also S. Thom. of Canterburys commemoratiō.

you and all your friends, that we may meete togeather in heauen. Commende me, when you can, to my ſonne Iohn; *his towardlie carriage towards me pleaſed me very much. God bleſſe him, and his good wife and their children, Thomas,* (who was my father) and *Auguſtine* (who dyed vnmarried) *and all that they ſhall haue.* In which wordes I hope by Gods helpe to haue ſome parte of his bleſſing. But oh good God! *voluntate labiorum eius non fraudaſti eum.* For vpon the eaue of his ſpeciall patron, and the vtas of *S. Peter* for whoſe ſupremacie he ſuffered martyrdome, God heard his petition, and he ſuffered death that very day moſt couragiouſly. Togeather with this letter he ſent alſo vnto her his ſhirt of hayre, and his whippe, as one that was loath to haue the world knowe that he vſed ſuch auſteritie. For he cunningly all his life time had with his mirth hidden from the eies of others, his ſeuere mortifications, and now hauing finished, his combatt, he ſent away his weapons, not being certaine of anie notice of the king's minde, but either taught by reuelation.

An bleſſing to his ſonne.

God grãted him his deſires, to dy the day he wiſhed.

His heir-ſhirt, and diſcipline.

lation, or hauing a firme confidence of God's great goodneſſe, *& deſiderium cordis tribuit ei Dominus.*

4. For vpon the next morning being Tewſday the ſixt of Iuly there came vnto him *Sir Thomas Pope* very earely in the morning, his ſingular good friend with a meſſage frō the king and the Councell that he was to ſuffer death on that day before nine of the clocke, & therefore he ſhould forthwith prepare himſelfe thereto. *M.r Pope*, ſaith he, I moſt hartily thāke you for your good tydings: I haue bene much bound to the king's highneſſe for the benefitts and honours that he hath moſt bountiefully beſtowed vpon me, yet am I more bound to his Grace, I aſſure you, for putting me here, where I haue had conuenient time and ſpace to haue remembrance of my ende. And, ſo helpe me God, moſt of all I am bound vnto him, that it pleaſeth his maieſtie to ridde me ſo ſhortly out of the miſeries of this wretched world. The king's pleaſure further is, ſayd *Sir Thomas Pope*, that you vſe not manie words at your exe-

4. *Admoniſſment giuē him of the day of his death, frō the K.*

Moſt welcome vnto him

The K. willed him to vſe but few words at his execution.

execution. *M.r Pope*, answered he, you doe well to giue me warning of the king's pleasure; for otherwise I had purposed at that time somewhat to haue spoken; but no matter, wherewith his Grace or anie other should haue cause to be offended; howbeit, whatsoeuer I intended, I am readie obediently to conforme myselfe to his Highnesse's commaunde: And I beseech you, good *M.r Pope*, be a meanes to his Maiestie, that my daughter *Margarett* may be at my buriall. The king is contented allready, sayd he, that your wife, Children and other your friends should haue libertie to be present at it. Oh how much am I beholding to his Grace, that vouchsafeth to haue so much consideratiõ of my poore buriall. Then *Sir Thomas Pope* taking his leaue of him, could not refrayne frõ weeping. Which Sir THOMAS perceauing comforted him in these wordes: Quiett yourselfe, *M.r Pope*, and be not discomforted; for I trust we shall once see eache other full merrily, where we shall be sure to liue and loue togeather in eternall blisse. And further to putt him out of his

His wife & childrẽ permitted to be at his buriall.

His comfortable courage.

his melancholie Sir THOMAS MORE tooke his vrinall in his hand, and casting his water sayd merrily: I see no danger but this man may liue longer, yf it had pleased the king.

After which words they parted; and when he was gone, Sir THOMAS as one that had bene inuited to a sollemne bankett, changed himselfe into his best apparrell, & putt on his silke Chamlett gowne, which his intire friend *M.r Antonie Bonuise* (a noble Cittizen of the State of *Luca* in *Italie*, to whome he wrote the letter as is late spoken of before) gaue him, whilst he was in Tower. M.r Lieutenant seing him prepare himselfe so to his death, counselled him, for his owne benefitt to putt them of againe, saying, that he who should haue them, was but a Iauill. What M.r Lieutenant, sayd Sir THOMAS, shall I accounte him a Iauell, who will doe me this day so singular a benefitt. Nay I assure you, were it cloath of golde I would thinke it well bestowed on him. For *S. Cyprian* that famous Bishop of *Carthage* gaue his executioner thirtie pieces of golde, because he knewe he should

He put on his best apparell that day.

Liberally to his executio.

should procure vnto him an vnſpeakable good turne. Yet for all this M.r Lieutenant ſo preſſed him, that at laſt being loath for friendshipps ſake to denye him ſo ſmall a matter, he altered his gowne, and putt on a gowne of Frieſe; but yet he ſent of that little mony which was left him, one Angell of golde to the hangman, in token that he maliced him nothing, but rather loued him exceedingly for it.

5. The forme of his death and martyrdom

5. He was therefore brought about nine of the clocke by M.r Lieutenant out of the Tower, his beard being long, which fashion he neuer had before vſed, his face pale and leane, carrying in his hands a read Croſſe, caſting his eyes often towards heauen. As he thus paſſed by a good woman's houſe, she came forth and offered him a cuppe of wine, which he refuſed ſaying: Chriſt at his paſſion drunke no wine, but gall and vinager. There came another woman after him crying vnto him for certaine bookes, which she had giuen to his cuſtodie, when he was Lo: Chancellour. To whome he ſayd; Good woman, haue patience but for one

Perſons hired to diſgrace him.

hower's

hower's ſpace, and by that time the king's Maieſtie will ridde me of the care I haue for thy papers and all other matters whatſoeuer. Another woman ſuborned thereto, as ſome thinke, by his aduerſaries to diſgrace him, followed him alſo crying out againſt him, that he had donne her great iniurie, when he had bene Lo: Chancellour: to whome he gaue the anſwer, that he remembred her cauſe very well; and that if he were now to giue ſentence thereof he would not alter, what he had already donne. A good cõſcience.

Laſt of all there came a Cittizen of *Winchester*, who in times paſt hauing bene greately troubled with grieuous temptatiõs of deſpayre, was brought by a friend of his to Sir THOMAS MORE when he was Lo: Chancellour; who though he could not before by anie holeſome counſell alter this his minde; yet Sir THOMAS MORE promiſing him to pray for him, he was for the ſpace of three yeares free from all ſuch temptations. When Sir THOMAS was committed, and he could gett no leaue to haue acceſſe vnto him, his temptations grew ſo greate that he often He freeth one from the tẽtation of deſpaire by his prayers.

he often ſought to haue bene the cruell murderer of himſelfe; but now hearing Sir THOMAS was to be executed, he came to *London*, and ranne to Sir THOMAS, as he was carryed to execution, deſiring him with great earneſtneſſe that he would helpe him by his praiers: for his temptation was come againe vnto him, and he could not poſſibly ridde himſelf thereof; to whome Sir THOMAS ſpake thus: goe and praye for me, and I will carefully pray for you. He went away with confidence, and he neuer after was troubled with the like againe.

Being now brought to the ſcaffolde, whereō he was to be beheaded, it ſeemed to him ſo weake that it was readie to fall. wherefore he ſayd merrily to M.r Lieutenant: I pray you, Sir, ſee me ſafe vp, and for my coming downe lett me ſhift for my ſelfe. When he beganne to ſpeake a little to the people, which were in great troopes there to heare and ſee him, he was interrupted by the Sheriffe. Wherefore briefely he deſired all the people to pray for him, and to beare witneſſe with him, that he there dyed in and for

His wordes at his death.

the

the fayth of the holie Catholike Church a faythfull ſeruant both of God and the king. Hauing ſpoken but this he kneeled downe, and pronounced with great deuotion the *Miſerere* pſalme; which being ended, he chearefully roſe vp; and the executioner asking him forgiueneſſe, he kiſſed him ſaying: Thou wilt doe me this day a greater benefitt then euer anie mortall man can be able to giue me; pluck vp thy ſpiritt man, and be not afrayed to do thy office; my neck is very short; take heede therefore that thou ſtrike not awry, for ſauing thy honeſtie. When the executioner would haue couered his eyes, he ſayd; I will couer them myſelfe; and preſently he did ſo, with a cloath that he had brought with him for the purpoſe; then laying his head vpon the blocke, he bad the executioner ſtay vntill he had remoued aſide his beard ſaying: that that had neuer committed anie treaſon: So with great alacritie and ſpirituall ioy, he receaued the fatall blow of the axe, which no ſooner had ſeuered the head from the bodie, but his ſoule was carryed by Angels into euer-

His prayers.

Words to the executioner.

He ſcouereth his eyes himſelf.

His happy death.

euerlasting glorie, where a Crowne of martyrdome was putt vpon him, which can neuer fade nor decay. And then he found those words true, with he had often spoken; that a man may leese his head and haue no harme, yea I say, vnspeakeable good and endeleſſe happineſſe.

6. *The kings sadnes vpō the newes of his execution.* 6. When newes of his death was brought to the king, who was at that time playing at tables, Anne Bullen looking on, he cast his eye vpon her and sayd: thou art the cause of this man's death; and presently leauing his play he be tooke himself to his chamber, and therevpon fell into a fitt of melancholie; but whether this were from his hart, or to seeme lesse cruell then he was indeede, I can hardly coniecture; for on the one side the remembrance of his faythfull seruice so manie yeares employed for the whole realme's benefitt, could not but make the king sorrowfull; and on the other side, the vnmercifull dealing with his sonne and heyre, his small allowance to his wife, his pittieleſſe crueltie against all his children, sheweth that he had an impla-

implacable hatred againſt him, becauſe that he would not conſent vnto his luſtfull courſes; of which we will ſpeake more largely, when we haue diſcourſed of his buriall. His head was putt vpō *Lōdon*-bridge, where as trayters heads are ſett vp vpon poles; his bodie was buried in the Chappell of *S. Peter*, which is in the Tower in the bellfrie, or as ſome ſay, as one entreth into the veſtry, neare vnto the bodie of the holie Martyr Bishopp *Fiſher*, who being putt to death iuſt a fortnight before, had ſmall reſpect donne vnto him all this while.

The place of his buriall.

But that which happened about Sir THOMAS winding sheete, was reported as a miracle by my aunte *Rooper*, M.rs *Clement*, *Dorothie Colly*, *M.r Harrys* his wife. Thus it was: his daughter *Margarett* hauing diſtributed all her monie to the poore for here father's ſoule, whē she came to burie his bodie at the tower, she had forgotten to bring a sheete; and there was not a penny of monie left amongſt them all. wherefore M.ris *Harrys* her mayde went to the next Drapers shoppe, and agreing vpon the

A notable accidēt about his winding sheet.

price, made as though she would looke for ſome monie in her purſe, and then try whether they would truſt her or no; & she found in her purſe the ſame ſumme, for which they agreed vpon, not one penny ouer or vnder; though she knew before certainly, that she had not one Croſſe about her. This the ſame *Dorothie* affirmed conſtantly to Doctour *Stapleton*, when they both liued at *Doway* in *Flanders* in *Q. Elizabeth's* raigne. His shirt, wherein he ſuffered all embrued with his bloud, was kept very carefully by Doctour *Clements* wife, liuing alſo beyond the ſeas, as alſo his shirt of hayre. His head hauing remayned ſome moneth vpon *London-bridge*, being to be caſt into the *Thames*, becauſe roome should be made for diuerſe others, who in plentiefull ſorte ſuffered martyrdome for the ſame Supremacie, shortly after, it was bought by his daughter *Margaret*, leaſt (as she ſtoutly affirmed before the Councell, being called before them after for the ſame matter) it should be foode for fishes; which she buried, where she thought fitteſt; it was very well

His bloudy shirt.

His head.

well to be knowen, as well by the liuelie fauour of him, which was not all this while in anie thing almoſt diminiſhed; as alſo by reaſon of one tooth, which he wanted whilſt he liued; herein it was to be admired, that the hayres of his head being almoſt gray before his Martyrdome, they ſeemed now as it were readiſh or yellow.

His glorious Martyrdome, and his death ſtrengthened manie to ſuffer couragiouſly for the ſame cauſe, becauſe he was an eminent mã both for dignitie, learning, and vertues; ſo that Doctour *Stapleton* boldly affirmeth, that he was wonderfully both admired and ſought to be imitated by manie, as he himſelf had heard, when he came firſt to the yeares of vnderſtanding and diſcretion. And truly *German Gardiner* an excellent learned and holie lay man coming to ſuffer death for the ſame Supremacie ſome eight yeares after auouched at his ende before all the people, that the holie ſimplicitie of the bleſſed Carthuſians, the wonderfull learning of the Bishopp of *Rocheſter*, and the ſin-

His martyrdom encouraged many other to the like.

M.r Gardiner.

singular wisedome of Sir THOMAS MORE had stirred him vp to that courage; but the rest seemed not so much to be imitated of lay men, being all belonging to the Clergie, as this famous man, being clogd with wife and childrē.

Euen his owne Parish-priest.

Yea his death so wrought in the minde of Doctour *Learcke* his owne Parish-priest, that he following the example of his owne sheepe, afterwards suffered a most famous Martyrdome for the same cause of Supremacie.

7. A consideratiō vpon the blessing, which he gaue to his heires children.

7. Thus haue we according to our poore Talent laboured to sett downe briefely the life and death of Sir THOMAS MORE my most famous great Grandfather; whose prayers and intercessions I daily craue both for myselfe and all my little ones, who are also parte of his charge, because he gaue them his blessing, in his most affectionate letter, viz: God blesse *Thomas* and *Augustine* & all that they shall haue; immediate or mediate; those which they shall haue *vsque ad mille generationes*. This hath bene our comfort, that the tryall thereof hath bene euidently shewed in that *Edward*, *Thomas*, &

Bar-

Bartholomew, my father's brethren, being borne after Sir THOMAS my great Grandfather's death, and hauing not this blessing so directly, as my father and my vncle *Augustine* had, they haue both degenerated from that religion and those manners, which Sir THOMAS MORE had left as it were a happie *depositum* vnto his Children and familie. For although mine vncle *Bartholomew* dyed yong of the plague in *London*, and therefore might haue by the grace of God excuse and remorse at his ende; yet *Thomas* the yonger's courses were farre different from all the rest; for he liued and dyed a professed minister, and for all that, very poore, bringing vp his children, whereof his eldest sonne is yet liuing, in no commendable profession; as for mine vncle *Edward*, who is yet aliue, although he were endowed with excellēt guifts of nature, as a readie witt, toung at will, and his penne glibbe; yet, God knowes, he hath drowned all his Talents in selfe conceipt, in no worthie qualities, and besides is buried aliue in obscuritie, for his forsaking God, & for his base

behauiour. My father only right heyre of his father and Grandfather, though he not long enioyed anie of their Lands, was a liuelie patterne vnto vs of his constant fayth, his worthie and vpright dealings, his true Catholike simplicitie, of whome I haue a purpose to discourse vnto my children more at large, that they may knowe, in what hard times he liued, and how manfully he sustayned the combatt, which his father and Grandfather had left vnto him as their best inheritance; For all their land was take away by two Acts of Parlement immediately after Sir THOMAS's death; the one Acte was to to take away the lande, which the king had giue him, and this was somewhat tolerable; the other most violent & tyrannicall, to frustrate vtterly a most prouidēt Conueyance, which Sir THOMAS had made of all his lands and inheritance, which he had settled vpon my father, being a childe of two yeares olde or more, without anie fraude or couin, euen when as yet no Statute had bene made about the Oath of Supremacie; and therefore before Sir THOMAS could committ

A praise of M. Iohn More, soune & heire to Sir Thomas.

The vnmercifull dealing of K. Hery with Sir Tho. Mores heires.

mitte such a faulte against such a Statute, much lesse Treason, hauing reserued to himself only an estate for tearme of his life; yet all this was taken away contrarie to all order of lawe, and ioyned to the Crowne: but that land, which he had conueyed to my vncle *Rooper*, and mine aunte for tearme of their liues in recompence of their marriage monie, that they kept still, because that was donne two daies before the first Conueyance. The ladie *More* also, his wife was turned out of her house at *Chelsey* immediately, and all her goods taken from her, the king allotting her of his mercie a pension of twentie pounds by the yeare, a poore allowāce to maintaine a Lo: Chancellour's Ladie. My grādfather was committed also to the Tower, and for denying the same Oath was condēned, yet because they had sufficiently fleeced him before, and could now gett no more by his death, he gott at last his pardon and libertie, but liued not manie yeares after, leauing my father to the education of his mother, called before her marriage *Anne Cresacre*, the last of her

With the Lady his widow.

M. Iohn More cōmitted to the tower for denial of the oath.

familie, by whose match he enioyed after a competent liuing to keepe him out of needie life. Mine aunte *Rooper*, because she was a woman, was not so hardly dealt withall, but only threatened very sore, both because she kept her father's head for a relike, and that she meant to sett her father's workes in printe, yet for all that after a short imprisonment she was at last sent home to her husband. Thus all his friends felt in parte the king's heauie anger for his vndaunted courage.

The imprisonment of his daughter Margaret

8. Sir THOMAS was of a meane stature, well proportioned, his complexion tending to phlegmatike, his coulour white and pale, his hayre neither black nor yellow, but betweene both; his eies gray, his countenance amiable & chearefull, his voyce neither bigg nor shrill, but speaking plainely and distinctly; it was not very tunable, though he delighted much in musike, his bodie reasonable healthfull; only that towards his latter ende by vsing much writing, he complained much of the ache of his breast. In his youth he drunke much water,

8. *The fauour and Physiognomie of Sir Tho. More.*

wine

wine he only tasted of, when he pledged others, he loued salte meates, especially powdered beefe, milke, cheese, eggs and fruite, and vsually he eate of corse browne bread, which it may be he rather vsed to punish his taste, then for anie loue he had thereto; for he was singular wise to deceaue the world with mortifications, only conteting himselfe with the knowledge which God had of his actions: *& pater eius, qui erat in abscondito, reddidit ei.*

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

THE IVDGEMENT vvhich all nations made of the death of Sir THOMAS MORE.

1. *Cardinall Pooles lamentation vpon his death.*
2. *Eraſmus of Roterdam in Holland.*
3. *Doctour Iohn Cochlaus of Germanie.*
4. *Paulus Iouius, Bishop, in Italy.*
5. *William Paradin a learned historian of France.*
6. *Iohn Riuius a learned Proteſtant.*
7. *Charles the fift, Emperour; & K. of Spanie.*
8. *Circunſtances vvorthie ponderacion, in his death.*

9. *An*

9. *An apology for his merry apophthegmes and pleasaunt conceipts.*
10. *The first lay man martyred for defence of ecclesiasticall iurisdiction.*

1.

Now lett vs see, what most of the learned men of Christendome, not only Catholikes but euen Protestants thought and wrote of king *Herie* for Sir THOMAS MORE's death, who were not likelie, being free from all partialitie, but to speake their mindes sincerely, not fearing him as his subiects, nor hating him for anie priuate respects. First Cardinall *Pole* then liuing in the Courte of *Rome*, and writing to the king in the defence of Eccleſiasticall vnitie, sayth thus by the figure of Apostraphe, of the complaints of other men: Thy father, Oh England, thy ornament, thy defence, was brought to his

1. Cardinal Pooles lamentatiō vpon Sir Tho. Mores death.

to his death, being innocent in thy ſight; by birth, thy childe; by condition, thy Cittizen, but thy father for the manie benefits donne vnto thee; for he shewed more euident ſignes of his fatherlie loue towards thee, then euer anie louing father hath expreſſed to his onlie and truly beloued childe; yet in nothing hath he more declared his fatherlie affection, then by his ende, for that he left his life for thy ſake; eſpecially leaſt he should ouerthrowe and betray thy ſaluation. Wherefore that which we reade in the ancient ſtories of *Greece*, as touching *Socrates*, whome the *Athenians* condemned moſt vniuſtly to take poyſon, ſo thou haſt now ſeene thy *Socrates* beheaded before thine eies; a while after his death when in a playe there was recited out of a Tragedie theſe wordes: You haue ſlayne, you haue ſlayne the beſt man of all *Greece*. Vpon theſe their words euerie man ſo lamented the death of *Socrates*, calling to minde that iniuſtice, although the Poet himſelfe dreamed leaſt of him, that the whole theater was filled with nothing elſe, but teares

and

and howling; for which cauſe the people preſently reuenged his death, by punishing grieuouſly the chiefe authours thereof; thoſe that were of them to be found, were putt to death preſently, and they that could not be found out, were banished. There was alſo a ſtatua erected in his honour, in the verie markett place. Yf they therefore at the only hearing of theſe wordes vpon the ſtadge tooke an occaſiō to be reuenged of that moſt innocent man's ſlaughter; what more iuſt cauſe mayſt thou, *London*, haue of compaſſion and reuenge, hearing the like words to theſe, not pronounced only by anie ſtage-player at home, but by moſt graue and reuerende men in all places of Chriſtendome, when as they ſpeake moſt ſeriouſly, exprobrating often vnto thee thine ingratitude; & ſaying: You haue ſlayne, you haue ſlayne the beſt English-mā aliue. This ſpoke this learned and wiſe Cardinall, who could teſtifye this of his knowledge, by reaſon he conuerſed often with the greateſt States of Chriſtendome, being a man famous amongſt them for his nobilitie

of bloud, for his dignitie, his learning and excellent vertues, for which none haue cauſe to ſuſpecte him to be partiall.

2. Erasmus of Roterdam.

2. *Eraſmus* (as may be eaſily gueſſed by the ſtile) although he wrote it not in his owne name, becauſe he had then manie friends in England, ſayth thus: This is Euident, that neither MORE nor the Bishopp of *Rocheſter* erred (yf they haue erred at all) of any malice they had againſt the king, but for ſincere conſcience ſake; This they perſwaded themſelues wholy, this was infixed in their marrowes, that the matter which they defended, was good and lawfull and honourable for the king, and holeſome for all the whole kingdome: Yf it had bene lawfull for them to haue diſſembled it, they would haue donne it willingly; but they tooke their death moſt patiently & peaceably, praying to God for the king and the whole realme's ſafetie. In haynous offences a ſimple and pure conſcience, and a minde not deſirous of hurting anie, but of well deſeruing, excuſeth much the faulte, beſides due reſpect & honour hath

hath bene alwaies had euen, amõgſt barbarous nations, to eminent learning and excellent vertue. The verie name of a philoſopher reſcued *Plato* from being beheaded by the *Aeginetes*, hauing tranſgreſſed the lawes of their Cittie. *Diogenes* without anie feare came into *Philipp* king of *Macedonia's* armie, and being brought before him for a ſpye of their enemies, freely reproched the king to his face of madneſſe, that being not content with his owne kingdome, he would caſt himſelfe into danger to leeſe all; yet was he ſent away without anie harme at all donne to him: and not only ſo, but had a great rewarde giuen him for no other cauſe, but that he was a philoſopher. And as the courteſies of Monarches shewed vnto learned men, doe gett them greate fame, ſo to haue vſed ſuch men hardly, hath bene occaſion, that they haue bene much hated and enuied. For who doth not hate *Antonie*, for hauing *Cicero's* head cutt of? who doth not deteſt *Nero* for putting *Seneca* to death; yea *Octauius* incurred ſome infamie for *Ouid's* bannishment amongſt the

Getes. When *Lewis* the Twelueth of France now being peaceably ſettled in his kingdome, would haue bene diuorced from his wife the daughter of *Lewis* the eleauenth; this matter diſpleaſed manie good men; & amongſt them *Iohn Standock* and his ſchollar *Thomas* ſpake of it in a ſermon, deſiring the people to pray to God, that he would inſpire the king to doe for the beſt; they were therefore accuſed of ſeditiō, as men that had committed a faulte againſt the king's Edict; yet for all this they had no other punishment but banishment, they kept and enioyed all their goods; and when the controuerſies were ended, they were called home againe with honour; by this his mildeneſſe the king both ſatisfyed his Edict, & gott no greate hatred for moleſting two men both Diuines, both accounted holie men. But euerie man bewayleth the death of Sir THOMAS MORE, euen they who are aduerſaries vnto him for religion; ſo great was his courteſie to all men, ſo great his affabilitie, ſo excellent was his nature. Whome did he euer ſende away from him, yf he were

he were anie thing learned, without guifts? or who was so gregt a stranger vnto him, whome he did not seeke to doe one good turne or other? Manie are fauourable only to their owne countriemen; Frenchmen to Frenchmen, Scottishmen to Scotts. This his bountie hath so engrauen More in euerie man's hart, that they all lamente his death, as the losse of their owne father or brother; I myselfe haue seene manie teares come from those men, who neuer saw More in their liues, nor neuer receaued anie benefitt from him; yea whilst I write these things teares gushe from me, whether I will or no. How manie soules hath that axe wounded, which cutt of *More's* head, &c. And a little after pulling of his vizard, he sheweth himselfe *Erasmus* in these wordes: Therefore when men haue congratulated me, that I had such a friend placed in such high dignities, I am wont to answer, that I would not cõgratulate his encrease of honour, before he should commaunde me to do so.

3. *Iohn Cochleus* a most learned German and Doctour Cochleus of Germany.

and a great Diuine writing againſt *Richard Sampſon* an English-man, who defended king *Henrie* the eight for this fact, ſayth much of Sir THOMAS his praiſes; at laſt ſpeaking of his death, he ſayth thus to king *Henrie's* Councellours: What prayſe or honour could you gett by that crueltie, which you exerciſed againſt Sir THOMAS MORE? he was a man of moſt knowen and laudable humanitie, milde behauiour, affabilitie, bountie, eloquence, wiſedome, innocencie of life, witt, learning, exceedingly beloued and admired of all men, in dignitie beſides higheſt Iudge of your Countrie, and next to the king himſelfe, famous from his youth; beneficiall to his Countrie for manie Embaſſages, and now moſt venerable for his gray head, drawing towards olde age, who hauing obtained of the king an honourable diſmiſſion from his office, liued priuately at home with his wife, children and nephewes, hauing neuer committed the leaſt offence againſt anie, burdenſome to no man, readie to helpe euerie bodie, milde, and pleaſant of diſpoſi-

position. You haue giuen counsell to haue this so good a man drawen out of his owne house, out of that sweete Academie of learned and deuoute Christian Philosophers, for no other cause but this that he would not iustifye your impieties; his guiltlesse Conscience resisting it, The feare of God and his soule's health, withdrawing him from it, Doe you believe that this your wicked fact hath euer pleased anie one of what nation, sexe or age soeuer? or euer will please anie? it will not surely: you haue hurt yourselues murderers and guiltie of shedding most innocent bloud; him haue you made most grateful to God, to the cittizens of heauē & to all iust men on earth, & a most renowned Martyr of Christ, he liueth and raigneth without all doubt with Almightie God; you will neuer be able to blott out this fault and infamie. It is written of God: *He knoweth the deceauer, and him that is deceaued; he will bring counsellours to a foolish ende, Iudges into amazement, he vnlooseth the belte of kings, & guirdeth their loynes with a rope.* Thus writeth *Cocleus.* Iob 12.

4. *Pau-*

4. Bishop Iouius of Italy.

4. *Paulus Iouius* Bishop of *Nuceria* amōgst the praises of diuerse learned men writeth thus of Sir THOMAS MORE's vniust death: Fortune fickle & vnconstant after her accustomed manner and alwaies hating vertue, if euer she played the parte of a proude and cruell dame, she hath lately behaued herself most cruelly in *Englād* vnder *Henrie* the Eight, casting downe before her *Thomas More*, whome the king, whilst he was an excellent admirer of vertue had raised to the highest places of honour in his realme, that fom thence, being by fatall maddenesse changed into a beast, he might suddenly throwe him downe againe with great crueltie, because he would not fauour the vnsatiable lust of that furious tyrant, and for that he would not flatter him in his wickednesse, being a man most eminent for the accomplishment of all partes of Iustice, and most Saintlie in all kinde of vertues. For when the king would be diuorced frō his lawfull wife, marrie a Queane, and hasten to disinherite with shame his lawful daughter (*Marie*) MORE Lo: Chancellour

was

was forced to appeare at the Barre guiltie only for his pietie and innocencie, and there was cõdemned most wrongfully to a most cruell and shamefull death like a Traytor and murtherer, so that it was not lawfull for his friends to burie the dismembred quarters of his bodie. But *Henrie* for this fact an imitatour of *Phalaris* shall neuer be able to bereaue him of perpetual fame, by this his vnlawfull wickednesse, but that the name of MORE shall remaine constãt and in honour, by his famous *Vtopia*. He speaketh of his death, as his sentence did purporte.

5. Now lett vs ioyne to these, viz: an Englishman, a Low Countrie man, a German, and an Italian, a French man also that we may see how all Nations did lamente Sir THOMAS MORE's death, and what creditt the king and his Councell therevnto, gott by it. *William Paradine* writeth thus. The troubles and ciuile dissensions in *England*, now hath lasted a yeare or two, whẽ in the moneth of *Iuly*, *Iohn Fisher* Bishopp of *Rochester* was committed prisonner in *London*, because he seemed to disallow the

S. W Paradin a learned historiã of France,

king's diuorce, & the lawe newly made against the Pope's Supremacie. Of that resolution was also Sir THOMAS MORE partaker, being Sheriff of *London*, a man famous for eloquence, and in all manner of learning, aboue the reache of all Courtiers, most expert and skillfull; most faultlesse in all deedes. These two purposing rather to obey God then man, and confirming their mindes with constancie, were cõdemned to death: from which constancie they could be drawen neither by entreaties, hope of rewardes, faire promises, nor by anie threates whatsoeuer, which corporall death both of thẽ receaued most patiently and stoutely. Finally euerie writer of that age lamentably deplored the vniust death of Sir THOMAS MORE. *Reuerus Pontanus* a German, in his *Index* of memorable matters; *Laurence Surius* a Low-Countrieman vpon the yeare of 1538. *Iohn Fontayne* a Frenchman in his French historie; *Onuphrius Paxauinus* in *Paulo III.* an Italian; *Nicolas* Cardinall of *Capua* in his French letters; *Iohn Secundus* of *Hague*, yea *Carion* and *Sleidan* him-

himselfe speake honourably of Sir THOMAS Mores death.

6. But of all Protestants *Iohn Rivius* speaketh most passionately of K. *Henrie's* cruell fact, and Sir THOMAS's pietie, in these wordes *lib. 2. de Conscientia:* He that is in a Prince's Courte, ought freely, yf he be asked his Iudgement, rather to tell his minde plainely, what is most behoofefull for his Prince's good, then to speake *placentia*, tickeling his eares with flatterie, neither ought he to praise things, which are not prayse worthie, nor to dispraise matters, that are worthie of high commendations; yea although he be in danger of getting no fauour by perswading it, but rather punishment and disgrace for gainesaying men's appetites; then bringing *Papinianus* that great lawyer for a liuelie example thereof, who chose rather to dye, then to iustifye the Emperour *Caracalla's* killing of his owne brother, against his owne conscience, he addeth: Such a man was lately in our memorie that singular and excellent for learning and pietie, yea the 6. Rivius a Protestt.

onlie ornament and glorie of his Countrie THOMAS MORE, who becauſe he would not agree nor approue by his conſent againſt his owne conſcience, the new marriage of the king of *England*, who would needes be diuorced from his firſt wife; and marrie another, he was firſt caſt into priſon, one that had ſingularly well deſerued of the king himſelfe, and of *England*; and when he conſtantly continued in his opinion, which he truly thought to be moſt iuſt, moſt lawfull and godlie, emboldened to defende it by a ſincere conſcience, he was putt to death, by that wicked parricide, that moſt hatefull and cruell tyrant; a crueltie not heard of before in this our age. Oh ingratitude and ſingular impietie of the king's, who could endure firſt to conſume and macerate with a tedious and loathſome impriſonment ſuch a ſincere and holie good man; one that had bene ſo careful of his glorie, ſo ſtudious of his Countrie's profitt; he that had perſwaded him alwaies to all iuſtice and honeſtie, diſſuaded him from all contraries, and not conuinced of anie crime,

crime, nor found in him fault, he slew him (oh miserable wickednesse!) not only being innocent, but him that had deserued high rewardes, and his most faythfull and trustie Councellour. Are these thy rewardes, o king? is this the thankes thou returnest him for all his trustie seruice and good will vnto thee? doth this man reape this commoditie for his most faythfull acts and employments? But, oh More, thou art now happie; and enioyest eternall felicitie, who wouldest leese thy head rather then approue anie thing against thine owne conscience, who more esteemest righteousnesse, iustice and pietie, then life itself; and whilst thou art depriued of this mortall life, thou passest to the true and immortall happinesse of heauen, whilst thou art taken away from men, thou art raysed vp amongst the numbers of holie Saints and Angells of blisse.

7. Last of all I will recounte, what the good Emperour *Charles* the Fift sayd vnto *Sir Thomas Eliott* then the king's Embassadour in his Court, after he had heard of Bishopp

7. Charles the Emperour.

Fuber and Sir THOMAS MORE's martyrdomes; on a time he ſpoke of it to *Sir Thomas Eliott*, who ſeemed to excuſe the matter by making ſome doubt of the reporte, to whome the Emperour replyed: It is too true; but yf we had had two ſuch lights in all our kingdomes, as theſe men were, we could rather haue choſen to haue loſt two of the beſt and ſtrongeſt townes in all our Empire, then ſuffer ourſelues to be depriued of them, much leſſe to endure to haue thē wrongfully taken from vs.

8. Circumſtances notable in the death of Sir Tho. More.

8. And though none of theſe ſhould haue written anie thing hereof, yet the matter it ſelfe ſpeaketh abundantly that the cauſe was moſt vniuſt, the manner thereof moſt infamous, and Sir THOMAS MORE's patience moſt admirable, his pietie, his learning, his vertues incomparable; famous was he for his noble martyrdome; infamous king *Henry* for his moſt vniuſt condemnation. Theſe things doe aggraūate king *Henry's* faulte: First, that he killed him by a law, wherein he neuer offended, either by word or deede, and by that which

From the kings part,

con-

concerned not Temporall policie, but religion only; not rebellious against the king, but fearefull to offende his owne Conscience; which though he refused to approue, yet did he neuer reproue it, or anie other man for taking it. Secondly, that he putt to death so rare a man, so beloued of all, so vertuous, so wise, so courteous, and wittie; which might be motiues sufficient euer to pardon a guiltie offender. Thirdly, for beheading a man that had donne him so much seruice, yea the whole kingdome such good offices, his faythfull Counsellour for twentie yeares togeather, his expert Embassadour, his iust Lo: Chancellour, the verie flower of his realme. Manie things also doe amplifye and increase Sir THOMAS MORE's immortall glorie; From Sir Thomas Mores part.
first, in that to all the king's demaunds he had behaued himselfe so sincerely and impartiall, opening his minde ingenuously; so that the king seemed still to like him, though his opinio were contrarie to his liking. Secondly, that he had suffered alreadie the losse of all his goods, being condemned to perpetual imprisonment,
and

and only for silence. Thirdly, in that he tooke all crosses for the loue of God most patiently. Fourthly, that he dyed for a controuersie in religion, neuer before called in question, by anie precedent example: Finally, that he only of all the Councell would not flatter the king, nor keepe either goods, dignitie or life, with the dãger of the losse of his soule. All which proue what a rare man, how admirable and vertuous a Christian, and how glorious a martyr he is.

Nota.

9. An apology for his merry iestes.

9. But because one bauld English Chronicler *Hall* tearmeth him a scoffing man because his writings and doings were full of wittie iestes, calling him a wise foolish man, or a foolish wiseman, lett vs see by his owne writings the reason, why he hath vsed so manie pleasant tales in his bookes; and it is this: Euen as some sicke men, sayth he will take no medicines, vnlesse some pleasant thing be putt amongst their potions, although perhaps it be somewhat hurtefull, yet the phisician suffereth them to haue it. So because manie will not willingly hearken to serious and graue documents, except

they

they be mingled with some fable or ieaste; therefore reason willeth vs to doe the like. And in his greate Volume page 1048. he sayth that ieastes are as it were sawce, whereby we are recreated, that we may eate with more stomake; but as that were an absurde bankett, in which there were few dishes of meate, and much varietie of sawces, and that an vnpleasant one, where there were no sawce at all; euen so that life, were spent idely, wherein nothing were but mirth and iolitie; and againe that tedious and vncomfortable, wherein no pleasure or myrth were to be expected. Which mirth as it may become all men, so most especially did it become such a one as Sir THOMAS MORE was, being a married man, yea a Courtier, end a companion to a Prince, of whome that may worthily be spoken, which *Titus Liuius* recounteth of *Cato* thus: In this man there was such excellencie of witt and wisedome, that he seemeth to haue bene able to haue made his fortune, in what place soeuer

A fit comparison between Catoes severity and Sir T.M. his pleasant disposition.

he had bene borne; he wanted no skill either for the managing of priuate or publike buſineſſes; he was skillfull, both in Countrie and Cittie affayres; ſome are rayſed to honour, either becauſe they are excellent lawyers, ſingularly eloquent, or of admirable vertues; but the towardlieneſſe of this man's vnderſtanding, framed him ſo to all matters, that you would deeme him to be borne for one alone. In the practiſe of vertues, you would iudge him rather a monke then a Courtier; in learning a moſt famous writer; yf you would aske his counſell in the law, he was moſt readie to aduiſe you the beſt; yf he were to make an Oration, he would shew maruelous eloquence; he was admirable in all kinde of learning, Latine, Greeke, Prophane, Diuine; yf there were an Embaſſage to be vndertooke, none more dexterous to finish it; in giuing ſound counſell in doubtfull Caſes, none more prudent: to tell the truth without feare, none more free, as farre from all flatterie, as open

and

and pleaſant, full of grace in deliuering his iudgement, and that, which *Cato* had not, therein was he moſt happie. For *Liuie* ſaith, that he had a ſower carriadge, and a toung immoderate free and full of taunting: But Sir THOMAS being *Chriſt's* ſchollar, and not anie Stoick's, was milde and of an humble hart, neither ſadde, nor turbulent, and beſides of a pleaſant conuerſation, neuer ſterne, but for righteouſneſſe; a great contemner either of vnlawfull pleaſures, or of inordinate riches and glorie. As *Cato* had much enmitie with diuerſe Senatours, ſo manie of them on the other ſide did exerciſe his patience, that one can hardly diſcerne, whether the Nobilitie did preſſe him more, or he the Nobilitie; but on the contrarie ſide Sir THOMAS MORE neuer had anie, priuate or publike quarrell with anie man; yea no man can reckon anie to haue bene his enemie, being borne wholy to friendſhipp and affabilitie; wherefore being nothing inferiour to *Cato* for grauitie, integritie, and

innocency, as exact a hater of all vice, and ſterne to all wicked men, as he, yet did he farre excelle him in mildeneſſe, ſweeteneſſe of behauiour and pleaſantneſſe of witt; yea I doe him iniurie to compare him to anie morall philoſopher whatſoeuer; for he was abſolutely well ſeene in the ſchoole of Chriſt, & endewed with all ſupernaturall perfections, a greate Saint of Chriſt's Church and a holie Martyr of his fayth, and high in Gods fauour; which was well teſtifyed in his daughter my aunte *Dauney*, who being ſore ſick of that diſeaſe, of which she after dyed, fell into a lōg traunce, and afterwards returning to herſelfe, she profeſſed with abundance of teares, that she had felt in that while moſt grieuous torments, and should haue ſuffered them for euer, had not her fathers prayers and interceſſion begged of God a little longer ſpace to repente her of her former life. It was alſo credibly reported that two of *Iohn Haywood's* ſons *Iaſper* and *Ellis*, hauing one of the teeth of Sir THOMAS MORE bet-

betweene them, and either of them being desirous to haue it to himselfe, it suddenly to the admiration of both parted in two.

10. Now to conclude, lett vs consider why God culled out this man aboue all other to preserue the vnitie of the Church, and to be an illustrious wittnesse of the glorious cause, for the which he dyed: for least men should thinke that yf only the Clergie had dyed, they might seeme partiall in their owne Cause; beholde God picked out this worthie lay man, such as I suppose, all Christendome had not the like, who should be as his especiall Embassadour for the laytie, as was the famous Bishop of *Rochester* for the Clergie; such were these two for learning, as they could reache into all matters; such for excellencie of witt, that no subtile dealing could entrappe them vnawares easily foreseing anie danger, such for vertue and integritie of life, that God of his great mercie would not suffer such men in so great a poynt, as this, to be deceaued. And lett no

10. Sir Tho. More a lay man martyr for Ecclesiasticall authority, neuer before questioned.

man thinke this was no Martyrdome, yea rather it was greater then that of those, who would not denye the fayth of Christ, according as that worthie Bishopp & Confessour *Denis* of *Alexandria* sayth, that that Martyrdome which one suffereth to preserue the vnitie of the Church, is more then that which one suffereth, because he will not doe sacrifice to Idolls; for in this a man dyeth to saue his owne soule, in the other he dyeth for the whole Church.

WHo with as curious care should vieuve
Each vertue of thy breast
As was thy face perused by him,
Whose pencell it expresst
With ease might see much to admire,
But hard to putt in shapes
As Xeuxes *could expresse to life,*
The fruitfull bunche of grapes
He sooner should his ouvne life ende,
Then he could finish thine.

Such

Such ſtore of matter would ariſe
And gemmes of vertue ſhine,
There muſt he drawe a browe
Of Shamefaſtneſſe and Grace
Then two bright eyes, of Learning and
Religion, therewith place
And then a noſe of honour muſt
Be reared, breathing ſweete fame.
Two roſie cheekes of Martyrdome
With lillies of good name.
A golden mouth for all men pleades
But only for himſelfe
A chinne of Temperance cloſely shaued
From care of worldlie pelfe.
The more that he shall looke into
The more he leaues vnviewed
And ſtill more shewes of noble worth
Wherewith he was endewed.
But loe the fatall Axe vpreared
And at his verie Chinne
By enuie hath a ſeuerance made
That More *might not be ſeene.*

MORE *like a Saint liued, he most worthie Martyr ended.*

MORE *fitt for heauen, which now he hath, whereto his whole life tended.*

OF

OF SIR THOMAS MORE'S Bookes.

AMong his Latine Workes are his Epigrammes, partly translated out of Greeke, and partely of his owne making, so wittily deuised and penned, as they may seeme nothing inferiour, or to yeelde to anie of the like kinde written in our daies, and perchance not vnworthie to be compared with those of like writers of olde. These Epigrammes, as they are learned and pleasant, so are they nothing biting or contumelious. Epigrammes.

History of K. Richard the 3. in English, and Latin.

He alſo wrote elegantly and eloquently the life of king *Richard* the Third, not only in English, which booke is abroad in printe (though corrupted and vitiated) but in Latin alſo not yet printed. He did not perfect nor finish that booke, neither anie ſithence durſt take vpon him to ſett penne to paper to finish it, neither in the one or other toung, all men being-deterred & driuen from that enterpriſe, by reaſon of the incomparable excellencie of that worke; as all other paynters were afrayde to perfect & finish the image of *Venus*, paynted but imperfectly, by *Apelles* for his excellēt workemanshipp therein. But the booke that carrieth the price of all his other Latin bookes, of wittie inuention, is his *Utopia*; he doth in it moſt liuely and pleaſantly painte forth ſuch an exquiſite plattforme, patience and example of a ſingular good Common-wealth, as to the ſame, neither the *Lacedæmonians* nor the *Athenians*, nor yet the beſt of all other, that of the *Romans*, is comparable, full prettily and probably deuiſing the ſayd Countrie to be one of the

His Vtopia.

the Countries of the New-found Lands, declared to him in *Antwerpe* by *Hythlodius* a Portingall, and one of the ſea-companions of *Americus Veſputius*, that firſt ſought out and found thoſe lands; ſuch an excellent and abſolute an eſtate of a Commō Wealth, that ſauing the people were vn-Chriſtened, might ſeeme to paſſe anie eſtate and Common wealth, I will not ſay of the olde Nations by me before mentioned, but euen of anie other in our time. Manie great learned men, as *Budeus*, & *Ioannes Paludanus*, vpon a feruent zeale wished, that ſome excellent Diuines might be ſent thither to preache Chriſt's Goſpell; yea there were here amongſt vs at home ſundrie good men & learned Diuines very deſirous to take the voyage to bring the people to the fayth of *Chriſt*, whoſe manners they did ſo well like. And this ſayd iollie inuentiō of Sir THOMAS MORE's ſeemed to beare a good countenance of truth, not only for the creditt Sir THOMAS was of in the world, but alſo for that about the ſame time manie ſtrange and vnknowne nations and

Many deemed Vtopia to be a true nation and country.

Countries were discouered, such as our forefathers neuer knew: especially by the wonderfull nauigation of the shippe called *Victoria*, that sayled the world round about, whereby it was foūd that shipps sayle bottome to bottome, & that there be Antipodes, which thing *Lactantius* and others doe flattely denye, laughing thē to scorne that so did write. Againe it is found, that vnder the Zodiake, where *Aristotle* and others say that for the immoderate & excessiue heate there is no habitation, is the most temperate and pleasant dwelling, and the most fruitfull countrie in the world. These and other considerations caused manie wise and learned men nothing lesse to mistrust, then that this had bene nothing but an Inuentiue drift of Sir THOMAS MORE's owne imagination; for they tooke it for a verie sure true storie, wherein they were deceaued by Sir THOMAS as too wittie, and as well learned as they were. In this booke amongst other things he hath a very goodlie processe, how there might be fewer theeues in England, and a maruelous opinable probleme of sheepe,

of sheepe, that whereas men were wont to eate the sheepe, as they doe in other countries, now contrariewise sheepe in England pittifully doe deuowre men, women and children, houses yea & townes withall. Like a most thankefull man he maketh honourable mention of Cardinall *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and Lo: Chancellour of England, in whose house, as we haue sayd, himselfe was in his tender youth brought vpp, albeit it be by the dissembled name of the sayd *Hythlodius*, whome he imagineth to haue bene in *England*, and to haue bene acquainted with the sayd Cardinall.

Sheep deuour men in England.

And as this booke in his kinde is singular and excellent, containing and describing a Common wealth farre passing the Common-wealthes deuised and vsed by *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Numa*, *Plato* and diuerse others: So wrote he in another kinde & sorte a booke against *Luther* no lesse singular and excellent. King *Henry* the Eight had written a notable and learned booke against *Luther's* booke *De Captiuitate Babylonica*, most euidently and mightily refuting

Sir Tho: More his booke against Luther.

his vile and shamefull hereſies againſt the Catholike Fayth and Chriſt's holie Sacraments, which did ſo grieue *Luther* to the hart, that hauing no good ſubſtantiall matter to helpe himſelfe withall, he fell to ſcoffing and ſawcie ieasting at the king's booke in his anſwer for the ſame, vſing nothing throughout the ſayd Anſwer but the figure of Rhetorike called *ſawce-malepert*, and played the very varlett with the king. To whome Sir THOMAS MORE made reply, and doth ſo diſcipher and lay open his wily wreſted handling of the Sacred Scripture, his monſtrous opinions and maniefolde contradictions, that neither he nor anie of his generation durſt euer after putt penne to paper to encounter and reioyne to his reply: in which beſides the deepe and profound debating of the matter itſelfe he ſo dreſſeth *Luther* with his owne ſcoffing and ieasting rhetoricke, as he worthily deſerued. But becauſe this kinde of writing (albeit a meete Couer for ſuch a Cuppe, and verie neceſſarie to repreſſe & beate him with his owne follie, according to the Scripture:

tute: *Responde stulto secundum stultitiam eius*) seemed not agreable and correspondent to his grauitie and dignitie, the booke was sett forth vnder the name of one *Gulielmus Rosseus*, only, suppressing his owne name.

He wrote also and printed another proper and wittie treatise against a certaine Epistle of *Iohn Pomerun* one of *Luther's* stādard-bearers in *Germanie*; And after he was shutt vp in the Tower he wrote a certaine expositiō in Latine vpon the Passion of Christ, not yet printed, which was not perfited, and is so plainely and exquisitely trāslated into English, by his neece M.rs *Bassett*, that it may seeme originally to haue bene penned in English by Sir THOMAS MORE himselfe. Some other things he wrote also in Latine which we pretermitt; and now we will somewhat talke of his English Workes, which all (besides the life of *Iohn Picus* Earle of *Mirandula*, & the foresayd life of king *Richard* the Third, and some other prophane things) concerne matters of religion for the most parte.

His epistle against Pomeranus.

The

His English writings. The dialog. with the messinger.

The first booke of this sorte, was his Dialogues, made by him, when he was Chancellour of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*, which bookes occasioned him afterwards (as according to the olde prouerbe, One businesse begetteth another) to write diuerse other things. For whereas he had amongst manie other matters touched and reproued *William Tindall's* adulterate and vitious translation of the New Testament, *Tindall* being not able to beare to see his new religion, and his owne doings withall to haue so fowle an ouerthrowe, as Sir THOMAS MORE gaue him, after great deliberation with his Euangelicall bretheren, tooke in hand to answer some parte of his dialogues, especially touching his aforesayd corrupt Translation; but what small glorie he wanne thereby, is easie to be seene of euerie man, that with indifferent affection will vouchsafe to reade Sir THOMAS MORE's reply, whereof we shall giue you a smal taste; but first we will note vnto you the integritie, sinceritie and vprightnesse of the good and gracious nature and disposition of the sayd

ſayd Sir THOMAS MORE in his writing, not only againſt *Tindall*, but generally againſt all other Proteſtants. Firſt then it is to be conſidered in him, that he doth not, (as manie other writers doe againſt their aduerſaries, & all Proteſtants doe againſt him & other Catholikes,) wreathe and wreſte their wordes to the worſt, and make their reaſons more feeble and weake, then they are; but rather enforceth them to the vttermoſt, and oftentimes further then the partie himſelf doth or perhaps could doe. And he was of this minde, that he ſayde, he would not lett, while he liued, whereſoeuer he perceaued his aduerſarie to ſay well, or himſelfe to haue ſayd otherwiſe, indifferently for both to ſay and declare the truth. And therefore himſelfe after the printing, finding the bookes diuulged and commonly read of the Debellation of *Salem* and *Bizanze*, albeit manie had read the place and found no faulte therein; yet he finding afterwards that he miſtooke certaine wordes of the Pacifyer, without anie man's controulement, meerely of himſelfe reformed them;

Great ſincerity in his writing: and loue of the truth.

The like he counſelled his learned friends, eſpecially *Eraſmus* to doe, and to retract manie things that he had written; whoſe counſell (wherein he had a notable preſident in the worthie Doctour *S. Auguſtine*) yf *Eraſmus* had followed, I trowe his bookes would haue bene better liked of, by poſteritie, which perchance ſhall be fayne either vtterly to abolish ſome of his workes, or at leaſt to redreſſe and reforme them. Here is now further to be conſidered in his writings, that he neuer hunted after praiſe or vayne glorie, nor anie vile and filthie gaine, or commoditie; yea, ſo that enuenomed and poyſoned bookes might be once ſuppreſſed & abolished, he wished his owne on a light and fayre fyre. Yet did the Euangelicall bretheren, after he had abandoned the office of Lo: Chancellour, as they otherwiſe ſpread and writt manie vaine and falſe rumours to the aduancement of their new Goſpel, and oppreſſing of the Catholike, lay to his charge in their bookes, that he was partiall to the Clergie, and for his bookes receaued a great maſſe of monie of the

He writt neither for gaine, nor report.

the ſayd Clergie. And *Tindall* and diuerſe others of the good bretheren affirmed, that they wiſt well that Sir THOMAS MORE was not leſſe worth in monie, plate and other moueables then twentie thouſand markes; but it was found farre otherwiſe, when his houſe was ſearched, after he was committed to the Tower, where a while he had ſome competent libertie, but after on a ſuddaine he was shutt vp very cloſe, at which time he feared there would be a new & more narrower ſearch in all his houſes, becauſe his minde gaue him, that folkes thought he was not ſo poore, as it appeared in the ſearch; but he tolde his daughter M.ris *Rooper* that it would be but a ſporte to them that knew the truth of his pouertie, vnleſſe they should finde out his wiue's gay gyrdle, and her goulde beades. The like pouertie of anie man, that had continued ſo long a Chancellour with the king, and had borne ſo manie great offices, hath, I trowe, ſeldome bene founde in anie lay man before, and much leſſe ſince his time. As for his partialitie to the Clergie, ſauing the reue-

His pouerty almoſt incredible in ſo greate a man.

rence due to the ſacred Order of prieſts by whome we are made Chriſtian men in Baptiſme, and by whome we receaue the other holie Sacraments; there was none in him; and that they felt, that were naught of the Clergie, that had ſo little fauour at his hands, that there was no man, that anie medling had with them, into whoſe hands they were more loath to come, then into his; but for fees, annuities or other rewardes or anie commoditie that should encline him to be euer propēſe & partiall to the Clergie none cā be shewed. Firſt, touching anie fees he had to his liuing, after that he had left the Chaūcellourship, he had not one groate grāted him ſince he firſt wrote, or begāne to write the Dialogues, & that was the firſt booke, that euer he wrote in matters of religion. And as for all the lands and fees he had beſides thoſe of the king's guift, was not, nor should be, during his mother in lawe's life, (who liued after he relinquished the office of Chaūcellourship) worth yearely the sūme of 100. pound & thereof had he ſome by his wife, ſome left by his father, ſome

Sir Tho. M. no partiall friend to the clergy.

ſome he purchaſed, and ſome fees had he of Temporall men; & ſo may euerie man ſoundly gueſſe, that he had no greate parte of his liuing of the Clergie to make him partiall to them. Now touching rewardes or lucre, which roſe to him by his writing, (for which good Father *Tindall* ſayd he wrote his bookes, and not for anie affection he bare to the Clergie, no more then *Iudas* betrayed Chriſt for anie fauour he bare to the Bishopps, Scribes and Phariſies) it is a moſt shamefull lye and ſlaunder; as may appeare by his refuſall of the 4. or 5. thouſand pound offered him by the Clergie.

Concerning *Tindall's* falſe tranſlation of the New Teſtament; firſt it is to be conſidered, as theſe good bretheren partely denye the very Text it ſelfe, and whole bookes of the ſacred Scripture, as the booke of the *Machabies*, and certaine others; and *Luther S. Iames's* Epiſtle alſo; and as they adulterate and commaculate and corrupt the whole Corps of the ſame with their wrong and falſe expoſitions farre diſagreeing from the Comment of the ancient

Tindals falſe tranſlation of the ſcripture.

Fathers and Doctours, and from the fayth of the whole Catholike Church: So haue they for the aduancing and furthering of the sayd heresies of a sett purpose peruerted & mistranslated the sayd holie Scripture. And after such shamefull sorte, that amōgst other their mischieuous practises, whereas in the Latine Epistle of *S. Paul* is read in the olde translation *fornicarij*, in the new they haue *Sacerdotes*, that is, priests, for the good deuotion they beare to the sacred Order of Priesthood. And their patriarche *Luther* with his translation of the sayd holie Scripture into the Dutch toung, hath wonderfully depraued, corrupted and defiled it, as we could by diuerse proofes easily shewe. whome his good schollar *Tindall* in his English translatiō doth matche or rather passe; wherein he turneth the word *Church* into *Congregation*, *Priest* into *Senior* or *elder*; which word Congregation absolutely of itselfe, as *Tindall* doth vse it, doth no more signifye the Congregation of Christiā men, then a fayre flocke of vnchristian geese, neither this word *Presbyter* for *Elder* signifyeth

fyeth any whitt more a *Prieſt*, then an elder-ſticke; manie other partes of his Tranſlation are ſutable to this; as where in ſpight of Chriſt's and his holie Saints images, he turneth Idolls into Images; and for the like purpoſe of ſetting forth his hereſie, *Charitie* into *Loue*, *Grace* into *Fauour*, *Confeſſion* into *repentance*, and ſuch like; for which as alſo for diuerſe of his falſe, faythleſſe hereticall aſſertions, as well that the Apoſtles left nothing vnwritten, that is of neceſſitie to be beleiued, That the Church may erre in matter of Fayth, That the Church is only of choſen elects, Touching the manner and order of our election, Touching his wicked and deteſtable opinion againſt the free wil of man, Touching his fond and foolish paradoxes of the elect, though they doe abhominable haynous actes, yet they doe not ſinne, and that the elect that doth once hartily repent can ſinne no more; he doth ſo ſubſtantially & pleaſantly confute and ouerthrowe *Tindall*, that yf theſe men that be enuenomed and poyſoned with theſe peſtilent hereſies, would with indifferent

Cõfuted learnedly by Sir Th. M.

mindes reade the ſayd Sir THOMAS MORE's anſwer, there were good hope, (as it hath, God be thanked, chanced to manie alreadie) of their good & ſpeedie recouerie. But alacke the while and woe vpon the ſubtle craft of the curſed diuell, that ſo blindeth them, and the wretched, negligent and little regarde, that theſe men haue to their ſoule's health, that can be content to ſucke in the deadlie poyſon of their ſoules by reading and crediting theſe miſchieuous bookes, & yet will not once vouchſafe to take the holeſome depulſiue Triacle, not to be fetched from *Geneua*, but euen readie at home at their hands in Sir THOMAS MORE's bookes againſt this dreadfull deadlie infection. But to returne now againe to the ſayd *Tindall*, Lord! what open, fowle and shamefull shifts doth he make for the defence of his wrong and peſtiferous aſſertions, & with what ſpitefull shamefull lyes doth he belye Sir THOMAS MORE, and wretchedly depraueth his writings: not being ashamed, though his playne manifeſt wordes lye open to the ſight of all men to the cõtrarie, to de-

The wilfulnes of hereſikes

Tindal falſifieth Sir T.M. words.

to depraue his anſwers. And amongſt other that he ſhould affirme, that the Church of Chriſt ſhould be before the Goſpell was taught or preached; which things he neither writeth nor once thought as a moſt abſurde vntruth, but that it was, as it is very true, before the written Goſpell. And the ſayd Sir THOMAS MORE ſeing that by *Tindall's* owne confeſſion the Church of God was in the world manie hũdred yeares, before the written lawes of *Moyſes*, doth well thereof gather and conclude againſt *Tindall*, that there is no cauſe to be yeelded, but that much more it may be ſo, and is ſo indeede; in the gracious time of our redemption, the holie Ghoſt, that leadeth the Chnrch from time to time into all truth, being ſo plentifully effuſed vpon the ſame, The Church of Chriſt is and euer hath bene in manie things inſtructed neceſſarie to be belieued, that be not in anie Scripture comprized. Theſe & manie other ſtrong reaſons to proue the common knowne Catholike Church, and none other to be the true Church of Chriſt, And ſeing we doe not

knowe the verie bookes of Scripture, which thing *Luther* himſelfe confeſſeth, but by the knowen Catholike Church, we muſt of neceſſitie take the true and ſound vnderſtanding of the ſayd Scriptures, and all our fayth from the ſayd Church, which vnderſtanding is confirmed in the ſayde Church from the Apoſtles time by infinite miracles, and with the conſent of the olde Fathers and holie martyrs, with manie other ſubſtantiall reaſons, that Sir THOMAS MORE here layeth downe, haue ſo appaled and amazed *Tindall*, that he is like a man that were in an inexplicable labyrinth, whereof he can by no meanes gett out; And *Tindall* being thus brought oftentimes to a bay and vtter diſtreſſe, he ſcuddeth in and out like a hare, that had twentie brace of grayhounds after her, and were afeared at euerie foote to be ſnatched vpp. And as Sir THOMAS MORE merrily, yet truly writeth, he did winde himſelf ſo wilily this way and that way, and ſo ſhifteth him in & out, and with his ſubtile ſhifting ſo bleareth our eyes, that he maketh vs as blinde as a catt;

Tindals maze.

and

and ſo ſnareth vs vp in his matters that we can no more ſee, where about he walketh, then yf he went viſible before vs all naked in a nett, & in effect, playeth the verie blinde hobbe about the houſe; ſometimes when there is no other shift, then *Tindall* is driuen to excuſe himſelfe and his doings; as he doth for the word *Presbyter*, which he tranſlated firſt Senior, then Elder; wherein for excuſe of his fault at great length he declareth 4. fayre vertues in himſelfe: malice, ignorance, errour and folhie. And where that he ſayd, he had amended his fault in tranſlating *Elder* for *Senior*, this is a like amending, as yf he would, where a man were blinde on the one eye, amende his ſight by putting out the other.

Tindals maner of ameding.

As Sir THOMAS MORE anſwered *Tindall*, touching his vnknowen Church, ſo did he alſo Fryer *Barnes*; for in that point both agreed, and would haue the Church ſecrett and hidd in hugger mugger, but in the meane ſeaſon they handle the matter ſo handſomely and ſo artificially, that their owne reaſons plucke downe

Againſt Frier Barnes his inuiſible Churche

their vnknowne Church. And albeit they would haue vs beleiue, the Church were vnknowen, yet doe they giue vs tokens and markes, whereby it should be knowen. And in perusing the vnknowne Church, they fall into manie foolish and absurde paradoxes, that Sir THOMAS MORE discouereth. And this vnknowē Church would they fayne reare vp in the ayre to plucke downe the knowen Catholike Church on the earth, and so leaue vs no Church at all; which Church to ouerthrowe is their finall and onlie hope; for, that standing, they well knowe, their malignant Church cannot stande, being by the Catholike Church both now & manie hundred yeares condemned. These and manie other things doth Sir THOMAS more at large full well declare, and setteth the limping and halting goodwife of the Bottle at Bottleswharfe at disputation with F. Barnes; in which the indifferent reader shall see, that she did not so much limpe and halte, as did the lame and weake reasons that F. *Barnes* brought against her of his vnknowen Church which she vtterly

ouer-

ouerthroweth, but yet as they doe both *Tindal* and *Barnes* agree as we haue sayd in their secrett vnknowen Church, so in other points touching their sayd Church, as in manie other articles besides, they doe iarre and disagree, and not so much the one from the other, as from themselues, as Sir THOMAS MORE sheweth more at large. For, sayth he, as they that would haue built vp the Tower of Babylon, had such a stoppe throwen vpon them, that suddenly none knewe, what another sayd; surely so God vpon these heretikes of our time, that goe busily about to rayse vp to the skye, their fowle filthie dunghill of all olde and new false skinking heresies gathered togeather against the true Catholike fayth of Christ, that himself hath hitherto taught his true Catholike Church, God, I say, when the Apostles went about to preache the Catholike fayth, sent downe the holie spirit of vnitie, Concorde, and truth vnto them, with the guift of speach and vnderstanding, so that they vnderstood euerie man, and euerie man vnderstood them, sent amongst these heretikes

The notable disagreemēt of heretikes among themselues

the ſpirit of errour and lying, of diſſenſion and diuiſion, the damnable diuell of hell, which ſo entangleth their toungs, and diſtempereth their braynes, that they neither vnderſtande one another, nor anie of them well himſelfe.

Hereticall ſcoffing.

The bookes of the ſayd *Tindall* and *Barnes* are more farced and ſtuffed with ieaſting and rayling, then with anie good ſubſtantiall reaſoning; and notwithſtanding that a man would thinke that *Tindall* were in fonde ſcoffing peereleſſe; yet, as Sir THOMAS MORE declareth *Barnes* doth farre ouerrunne him and oftentimes fareth as if he were from a Fryer waxen a fidler, and would at a tauerne goe gett him a pennie for a fitt of mirth; & yet ſometimes will the foole demurely and holily preache, and take ſo vpon him, as if he were Chriſt's owne deare Apoſtle, as doe alſo the reſidue of the bretheren,

Heretikes Hypocriſy.

that write, and eſpecially *Tindall*, who beginneth the preface of this booke, with the grace of our Lord and the light of his ſpirit, &c. with ſuch glorious and gliſtering ſalutations, as if it were *S. Paul* himſelfe; but Sir THOMAS MORE doth

doth accordingly dresse him, and doth discouer to the world Fr. *Luther's* and *Tindalls*, and such other false, fayned and hypocriticall holinesse in their so high and sollemne salutations and preachings: and concludeth not more pleasingly, that when a man well considereth these their salutations and preachings, he may well and truly iudge those their counterfitt salutations and sermons to be a great deale worse then Fryer *Fnpp* (who first gapeth, then blesseth and looketh holily, and preacheth ribaudrie) was wont at Christmas to make;

And thus will we leaue *Tindall* and *Barnes*, and speake of some other of their fraternitie; amongst whome there was one that made The Supplication of Beggars, the which Sir THOMAS MORE answered very notably before he wrote against *Tindall* and *Barnes*; this Supplication was made by one *Simon Fish*, for which he became penitent, returned to the Church againe, and abiured all the whole hill of those heresies, out of the which the fountaine of his great zeale, that mouted him to write, sprang.

Against the supplication of beggars.

After

Against Iohn Frith.

After this Sir THOMAS MORE wrote a letter impugning the erroneous writing of *Iohn Frith*, and whereas, after he had giuen ouer the office of Lo: Chancellour, the heretikes full fast did write against him, and found manie faultes with him and his writings, he made a goodlie and learned Apologie of some of his answers; which sayd Apologie we haue alreadie touched, especially that they layd to his charge, the slender recitall and misrehearsall of *Tindall* & *Barne's* arguments, and sheweth that they were calumnious slaunders; and that himself vsed *Tindall* and *Barnes* after a better manner, then they vsed him. For *Tindall* rehearseth Sir THOMAS MORE's arguments in euerie place fayntely and falsely, and leaueth out the pith and strengthe, & the proofe that most maketh for the purpose. And he fareth therein, as if there were one hauing a day of challenge pointed, in which he should wraſtle with his aduersarie, would finde the meane by craft before the day to gett his aduersarie into his owne hands, and there keepe him, and dyett him with such

Sir Tho. Mores Apologie

How heretikes recite the catholik argumẽts

ſuch a thinne dyet, that at the day he bringeth him forth feeble, faynt, and famished, and almoſt ſtarued, and ſo leane that he can ſcarce ſtande on his legs, and then is it eaſie, you wote well, to giue the fillie foole the fall. And yet when *Tindall* had donne all this, he tooke the fall himſelfe; but euerie one may ſee, that Sir THOMAS MORE vſeth not that play with *Tindall*, nor with anie of thoſe folke, but rehearſeth their reaſons to the beſt, that they can make it themſelues, and rather enforceth, and ſtrengtheneth it, as we haue before declared, rather then taketh anie thing therefrom;

Touching the length of Sir Tho. Mores bookes.

Whereas now they found farther faulte with the length of his booke, he writeth amongſt other things that it is leſſe maruell, that it ſeemes to them long and tedious to reade within, whome it irketh to do ſo much as to looke it ouer without, and euerie way ſeemeth long to him that is wearie before he beginne. But I finde ſome men, to whom the reading of the booke is ſo farre from being tedious, that they haue read the whole booke ouer thrice,

and ſome that make tables thereof for their owne remembrance, and are men that haue as much witt and learning both, as the beſt of all this bleſſed Bretherhood, that euer I heard of. And for the ſhortneſſe of *Barnes's* booke, that the aduerſaries did commende, he writeth that he woteth not well, whether he may call them lõg or ſhort; ſometimes they be ſhort in deede, becauſe they would be darke, and haue their falſe follies paſſe and repaſſe all vnperceaued; ſometimes they vſe ſome compendious eloquence, that they conuey and couche vp togeather with a wonderfull breuitie foure follies & fiue lyes, in leſſe then as manie lines; but yet for all this I ſee not in effect anie men more lõg then they: for they preache ſometimes a very long proceſſe to a little purpoſe, and ſith that of their whole purpoſe they proue neuer a whit at all, were their writings neuer ſo ſhorte, yet were their worke too long at laſt all togeather.

Heretiks blaſphemming the fathers would

Beſides manie other things, his aduerſaries layde to his charge, that he handled *Tindall*, *Frith*

Frith and *Barnes* vngodly and with vncomelie wordes, to which he this answereth; now when that against all the Catholike Church, both that now is and euer hath bene before frō the Apostles daies hitherto, both temporall and spirituall, lay men and religious, and against all that good is, Saints, Ceremonies, Seruice of God, the verie Sacrament of the Altar, these blasphemous heretikes in their vngracious bookes so villanously wrest and raile: were not a man, weene you, farre ouerseene and worthie to be accounted vncourteous, that would in writing against their heresies presume without great reuerence to rehearse their worshipfull names? yf anie of them vse their wordes at their pleasure as euill and as villanous as they list; against myself; I am content to forbeare anie requiting thereof, and giue them no worse words againe, then yf they spake me fayre, nor vsing themselues towards all other folke, as they doe, fayrer words will I not giue them, thē yf they spake me fowle; for all is one to me, or rather worse then better; for the pleasant oyle of

thēselues be reuerently handled.

Whē heretikes railings are to be neglected.

heretikes caſt vpon my head, can doe my minde no pleaſure, but contrariewiſe, the worſe that folke write of me for hatred they beare to the Catholike Church and fayth, the greater pleaſure, as for mine owne parte, they doe me; but ſurely their rayling againſt all other I purpoſe not to beare ſo patiently, as to forbeare to lett them heare ſome parte of like language, as they ſpeake, howbeit how to matche them therein, I neither can, though I would; but I am content, as needes I muſt, to giue them therein the maiſterie, wherein to matche them, were more rebuke then honeſtie; for in their rayling is all their roſte meate ſawced, all their pott ſeaſoned, and all their pye meate ſpiced, and all their wafers, and all their pottage made. He addeth further; yf they, ſayth he, will not be heretikes alone themſelues and holde their toungs and be ſtill, but muſt needes be talking, & corrupte whome they can, lett them yet at the leaſtwiſe be reaſonable heretikes and honeſt, and write reaſon, and leaue rayling, and then lett all the bretheren finde faulte with me; yf I vſe them

Heretikes excellent railours.

them not after that in wordes as fayre and as milde as the matter may ſuffer.

About this time there was one that had made a booke of the Spiritualtie and the Temporaltie, of which booke the bretheren made greate ſtore, and blamed Sir THOMAS MORE, that he had not in writing vſed ſuch a ſofte and milde manner, and ſuch indifferent fashion, as the ſame perſon did. By which occaſion Sir THOMAS MORE diſcourſeth vpon the ſame booke, the authour whereof pretendeth to make a pacification of the aforeſayd diuiſion and diſcorde, and openeth manie faultes and follies and falſe ſlaunders againſt the Clergie vnder a holie concluſion and pretence of pacificatiō in the ſayd bookes. To which diſcourſe of Sir THOMAS MORE's there came an anſwer afterwards in printe vnder the title of *Salem* and *Bizanze*; to the which Sir THOMAS MORE replyed, and ſo dreſſed this prettie proper politike pacifyer, that he had no liſt, nor anie man for him afterwards to encounter with the ſayd Sir THOMAS MORE. The pleaſant and wittie de-

The pacificatiō.

Cōfuted by Sir T. M.

The debellation of Salem and Bizance.

declaration of the title of the sayd booke of Sir THOMAS MORE's, because the booke is seldome and rare to be gott, I will now, gentle reader, sett before thine eies. The sayd title is framed in this sorte: The debellation of *Salem* and *Bizanze* sometime two greate townes, which being vnder the Turke were betweene Easter and Michelmas last 1533. by a maruelous metamorphose and enchantment turned into Englishmen, by the wonderfull inuentiue witt and witchcraft of *Sir Iohn Somesay* the Pacifyer, and so conueyed by him hither in a dialogue to defende his diuision, against Sir THOMAS MORE knight; but now being thus betweene *Michelmas* and *Allhallowntide* next ensuing the debellation vanquished, they are fledde hence, and are become two townes againe with these olde names changed *Salem* into *Hierusalem* and *Bizanze* into *Constantinople*, the one in *Greece*, the other in *Syria*, where they may see them that will, and winne them that can: and yf this Pacifyer conuey thē hither againe, and ten such townes embatteled

with

with them in Dialogues, Sir THOMAS MORE hath vndertaken to putt himselfe in aduenture against them all; but yf he lett them tarrie still there, he will not vtterly forsweare it, but he is not in the minde, age now coming on, and he waxing vnweldie, to goe thither to giue the assaulte to such wellwalled townes, without some such lustie companie, as shalbe likelie to leape vt a little more lightly. This is the title of the aforesayd booke; and that indeede Sir THOMAS MORE hath most valiantly discomfited the Pacifyer and ouerthrowen his two great townes, may easily appeare to such as will vouchsafe to reade Sir THOMAS MORE's answer; the circumstances and particularities whereof to sett downe, would make out present treatise to growe too bigg; I will only shew you one declaration or two, whereby you may make some ayme to iudge of the whole doing of the sayd Pacifyer; yf it were so, sayth the sayd Sir THOMAS MORE, that one found two men standing togeather, and would steppe in betweene the, and beare them in hand, that they were about to fight,

How the Pacifier reconcileth points in controuersy.

to fight, and would with the word, putt one partie backe, with his hand, and all to buffett the other about the face, and then goe forth and say, he had parted a fray, and pacifyed the parties, some men would say, as I suppose, he had as lief his enemie were lett alone with him, and thereof abide the aduenture, as haue such a friēd steppe in to parte them. Another, of a man, that were angrie with his wife, and happely not without cause; now sayth Sir THOMAS MORE, yf the authour of this booke would take vpon him to reconcile them, and helpe to make thē at one, and therein would vse this way, that when he had them both togeather before him, would tell all the faultes of the wife, and sett among them, some of his owne imagination, & then would goe about to auoyde his wordes vnder the fayre figure of *Some*-say; which he commonly vseth in his booke of Pacifyng either by forgettfullnesse, or by the figure of playne follie; & then would tell her husband's parte-verse too, and say vnto him, that he himselfe had not dealt discreetely with her, but hath

hath vſed to make her too homelie with him,& hath ſuffered her to be idle, and hath giuen way to her being too much cõuerſant amongſt her goſſips, and hath giuen her ouergay geare, and ſometimes giuen her euill wordes, and called, her as I ſuppoſe, curſed queane and ſhrewe, and ſome ſay that behinde your backe, ſhe calles you knaue and Cuckolde, were not there a proper kinde of pacification; And yet is this the liuelie patterne and image of M.r Pacifyer's doings, with the which, and with the ſpinning of fine lyes with flaxe, fetching them out of his owne bodie, as the ſpyder doth the Cobbewebbe, fayning and finding faulte with Sir THOMAS MORE for theſe matters and wordes, whereof he ſayth the playne contrarie, he had greate cauſe to be aſhamed, howbeit litle ſhame could cleaue to his cheekes, but that he would ſoone ſhake it away, while his name was not at his booke.

We haue now one booke more written in matter of religion, and that is of the B. Sacramẽt of the altar, by the ſayd Sir THOMAS MORE. Sir T. M. his booke of the bleſſed Sacrament.

We tolde you before of a letter of his, wherein he impugneth the hereſie of *Iohn Frith*; albeit he was priſonner in the Tower of *London*, he found the meanes to make anſwer to that letter, and to conuey it beyond the ſeas, where it was printed, and it was afterwards brought into this realme, as Sir THOMAS MORE, did certainely vnderſtande, who minded, when the booke came to his hands, to anſwer it; but now in the meane ſeaſon came there from beyond the ſeas, an Anſwere made to the ſame letter by another, and printed without the Authour's name entituled: The Supper of the Lord. But I beshrewe, quoth Sir THOMAS MORE, ſuch a Sewer, that ſerueth in ſuch a ſupper, as he conueyeth away the beſt dish, and bringeth it not to the borde, as this man would, if he could cõueye from the B Sacrament Chriſt's owne flesh and bloud, and leaue vs nothing there in but for a memoriall only bare bread and wine. But his handes are too lumpish, and this meſſe too great for him, eſpecially to conuey cleane, ſith the man hath his hart bent thereto, and therefore

The heretiks ſupper of the Lord, wants the beſt dishe.

fore his eye sett thereon, to see where it becometh. This naughtie nameleſſe authour, Sir THOMAS MORE doth not only by the authoritie of the Sacred Scripture, and holie ancient Fathers, but by his owne reaſons and textes that himſelf bringeth forth, plainely and euidently conuince.

Now haue we beſides, other excellent and fruitfull bookes, which he made being priſoner in the Tower: as his Three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation; a Treatiſe to receaue the B. Sacrament Sacramentally and virtually both; a treatiſe vpon the Paſſion with notable Introductions to the ſame. He wrote alſo manie other godlie and deuout Inſtructions and prayers; and ſurely of all the bookes that euer he made I doubte whether I may preferre anie of them before the ſayd Three bookes of Comfort in Tribulation, yea or anie other man's either heathen or Chriſtian that haue written, (as manie haue) either in Greeke or Latine of the ſayd matter. And as for heathen, I doe this worthie man plaine iniurie, and doe much

Sir Tho. Mores bookes written in the tower.
Comfort in tribulation.
Of Cõmunion.
Of the Paſſion.

The excellence of the booke of Comfort

abaſe him, in matching and comparing him with them, eſpecially in this poynt: ſeing that, were they otherwiſe neuer ſo incomparable, they lacked yet and knewe not the very eſpeciall and principall ground of Comfort and Conſolation, that is, the true fayth of Chriſt, in whome and for whome, and whoſe glorie we muſt ſeeke and fetche all our true comfort and conſolation; well lett them paſſe, and lett vs further ſay, that as the ſayd Sir THOMAS MORE notably paſſeth manie learned Chriſtians, that haue of the ſame matter written before, ſo lett vs adde, that it may well be doubted, all matters conſidered and weighed, yf anie of the reſt may ſeeme much to paſſe him: There is in theſe bookes ſo wittie, pithie and ſubſtantiall matter, for the eaſying, and remedying, and patiētly ſuffering of all manner of griefes and ſorrowes, that may poſſibly encomber anie man by anie manner or kinde of tribulatiō, whether their tribulation proceede from anie inward temptation, or ghoſtlie enemie, the diuell, or anie outward temptation of the world, threate-

ning

ning to bereaue or ſpoile vs of our goods, lande, honour, libertie and freedome, by grieuous & sharpe impriſonment, and finally of our life withall, by anie painefull, exquiſite and cruell death; againſt all which he doth ſo wonderfully and effectually prepare, defende, and arme the reader that a man cannot deſire or wiſhe anie thing of any more efficacie or importãce therevnto to be added; In the which booke his principall drift and ſcope was to ſtirre and prepare the mindes of Englishmen manfully and courageouſly to withſtande and not to ſhrinke at the imminent and open perſecution, which he foreſawe, and immediately followed againſt the vnitie of the Church and the Catholike Fayth of the ſame; albeit full wittily and wiſely, that the bookes might the ſafer goe abroad, he doth not expreſſely meddle with thoſe matters; and couereth the matter vnder the name of an *Hungarian*, and of the perſecution of the Turkes in *Hungarie*; and of the booke tranſlated out of the Hungarian toung into Latine, and then into the English toung. Of theſe bookes

The ſaid booke a preparation againſt the perſequutiõs which he did foreſee.

Written when he had no booke about him.

then there is great account to be made, not only for the excellent matter compriſed in thē, but alſo for that they were made, when he was moſt ſtraytely shutt vpp and encloſed from all cōpanie in the Tower: in which ſorte I doubte whether a man shall finde anie other booke of like worthineſſe made by anie Chriſtian; and yet yf anie ſuch be found, much Surely should I yeelde to the ſame. But there is one thing, wherein theſe bookes of Sir THOMAS MORE by ſpeciall prerogatiue ſurmounte (or elſe I am deceaued) all other of this ſorte: and that is, that they were for the moſt parte written with noe other pēne, then a coale, as was his treatiſe vpon the Paſſion; which Coppies, yf ſome men had them, they might & would eſteeme more then other bookes written with golden letters, and would no leſſe accounte of it, then S. Hierome did of certaine bookes of the martyr *Lucian*, written with his owne hand, that by chāce he happened on, and eſteemed them as a pretious Iewell. And yet is there one thing, that in the valuing and prayſing of theſe bookes, he is not,

Written with cole

not, as manie great Clerkes are like, to a whett-stone, that being blunt and dull itſelfe, whetteth other things and sharpeth them; it was not ſo with this man; for though he wrote theſe bookes with a dead blacke coale, yet was there a moſt hote burning coale, ſuch an one, as purifyed the lippes of the holie prophett Eſaias, that directed his hand with the black coale, and ſo enflamed & incenſed his hart withall to heauēward, that the good and holeſome inſtructions and counſell that he gaue to other men in his bookes, he himſelfe afterward in moſt patient ſuffering the loſſe of his goods and landes, impriſonment & death for the defence of iuſtice and of the Catholike Fayth experimented & worthily practiſed in himſelfe.

Like Eſaias his cole, that purified his lippes.

And theſe be in effect the bookes he made either in Latine or English; which his English bookes yf they had bene written by him in the Latine toung alſo, or might be with the like grace, that they now haue, be tranſlated into the Latine ſpeach, they would ſurely much augmente

augmente and increase the estimation, which the world already hath in forraine Countries, of his incomparable witt, learning, and vertue.

FINIS.